THE UNIVERSITY
of EDINBURGH

The Sociocultural Implications of French in Middle English Texts

Enti A. Arends

PhD in Medieval Studies
The University of Edinburgh 2018

I declare that this thesis was composed by myself, that the work contained herein is my own except where explicitly stated otherwise in the text, and that this work has not been submitted for any other degree or processional qualification except as specified. A limited version of the analysis found in chapter 3 and part of the data in Appendix 5 were used in my MSc dissertation, forming about 5% of this thesis.

Lay Summary

This thesis looks at the effect of the use of French in Middle English texts (c. 1200–1300) and asks whether French is used (or avoided) in these texts to express certain types of identity. The coexistence of the English and French languages in the centuries following the Norman Conquest impacted the English language and culture in lasting ways. Those who could read and write participated in a literary culture including both French and English texts (as well as Latin). Also, many French words came into use in English. Today, a large part of English vocabulary is of French origin, much of which is common and entered English use in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. By the time Chaucer wrote in the late fourteenth century the process of lexical influence was far advanced.

Research on the Middle English period (c. 1100–1500) is increasingly engaging with the implications of this long-term multilingual situation. One strand of work considers the implications of the use of French phrases in Middle English texts. The choice for a word of French origin can have social or cultural implications, for example when someone uses a French phrase to sound more sophisticated.

This thesis analyses French vocabulary and phrases in three earlier Middle English texts, written before or around 1300: Laȝamon's *Brut*, a historical text, *Kyng Alisaunder* (a romance about Alexander the Great), and *Handlyng Synne*, a religious manual. In contrast to earlier work, for these texts I have made an overview of all French elements in the texts (except for *Kyng Alisaunder*, where I study only the rare French vocabulary). Also, I consider to what extent these words were integrated in English when they were used in these texts. A French word already recognised as regular English would have different social implications than a word still clearly French.

The main findings highlight the degree to which English and French culture were integrated around 1300. Also, it becomes clear that a broad French-derived vocabulary had become normal to use in English as early as 1300 even in texts intended to be widely accessible. The implications of the French elements are used for expressing social and cultural identity. There is no indication in these texts that the use or avoidance of French was related to national identity. The suggestion that the use of English in texts of *c.* 1300 was associated with feelings of Englishness involving a rejection of French has to be dismissed for the texts studied in this thesis.

Abstract

This thesis studies the interaction between language, people and culture in England in the century either side of 1300 by analysing the use of French in three Middle English texts: Laȝamon's *Brut*, *Kyng Alisaunder*, and *Handlyng Synne*. I explore the ways in which these texts exploit the sociocultural implications of French elements to negotiate the expression of collective identity, and consider what that suggests about the texts' audiences. This exploration also provides insights into the sociolinguistic relation between English and French. Specifically, I add to recent work on multilingualism within texts by providing a more systematic approach than has been adopted hitherto. Since this period saw the largest influx of French-derived vocabulary in English, evaluating the use of French elements requires consideration of the extent to which that vocabulary had become integrated in English. This aspect has not so far been included in studies of multilingualism in texts, and in approaching it this thesis brings together previous work on loanwords to offer a systematic methodology.

Chapters 2 to 4 treat the lexis of the individual texts. Study of the broader context of the French elements in chapter 5 shows that they are distributed evenly across the texts and the majority are introduced independently of the source texts. Those that were carried over from the source texts were not adopted into Middle English more generally. Appeal to a specific register better explains the appearance of clusters. Chapter 6 concludes that the implications of the French elements in these texts centre on the negotiation of social and cultural identity. No clear support was found for the use or avoidance of French elements to express ethnic or religious identity in these texts. The style of both versions of Laȝamon's *Brut* was confirmed to be the result of redactors' choices and not the state of the language as a whole, since most French-derived words in either version were apparently well integrated by 1300. On a larger scale, the amount of well-integrated lexis of French origin in *Handlyng Synne* demonstrates the extent to which French-derived vocabulary had become accessible as early as 1300. Lastly, the atypical, specialised French elements in *Kyng Alisaunder* are best explained by supposing its initial audience included those with extensive knowledge of French. This supports the hypothesis of continuity of audience between French and Middle English literary culture.

Preface

This thesis was funded by a University of Edinburgh College of Humanities and Social Sciences Research Award. In putting together the proposal I was aided by Sebastian Sobecki and my supervisors, Philip Bennett and Meg Laing. My supervisors' support and suggestions throughout the process have been all I could have wished for and for this I thank them deeply. Rhona Alcorn, Françoise Le Saux, Graeme Trousdale, Finn Sinclair and David Salter each offered valuable suggestions. Lastly, I am immensely grateful to Mark Ottens for stimulating conversation, patience, and invaluable support.

Table of Contents

Introduction: Studying the Sociocultural Implications of French in Middle English Texts

For lewed men y vndyr toke
On englyssh tonge to make þys boke (*Handlyng Synne*)

'Fitz a puteyne!' he seide, 'Lecchoure!
Þou shalt sterue so a tretoure!' (*Kyng Alisaunder*)

Seoððen comen Normans; mid heore nið-craften. (Laȝamon's *Brut*)[1]

These quotations present three examples of the dynamic interaction between language, people and culture in England in the century around 1300. Covering the relation of language choice and audience, the appearance of French in Middle English (ME) texts, and attitudes to French, they illustrate the aspects of ME literary culture taken up in this thesis. They are drawn from the three texts chosen for study here. These are introduced first, after which I contextualise each of the three aspects.

Robert Mannyng of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne* (henceforth *HS*) is a religious manual teaching the reader how to avoid sin and was completed in 1303. It survives in several manuscripts from the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. *Kyng Alisaunder* (*KA*) is an anonymous romance on the life of Alexander the Great, surviving in fragmentary form in Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates' 19.2.1 (the Auchinleck manuscript) of *c.* 1330 and in full in two manuscripts from the late fourteenth century. Laȝamon's *Brut* (*LB*) is a history of Britain from the Britons to the early Anglo-Saxons written around 1200 and surviving in two manuscripts from the late thirteenth century.

When Mannyng introduced his ME translation of a popular French religious text, using the words in the first example above, what did he mean by them? When you use

[1] 'For unlearned men I undertook to make this book in the English language' (Sullens, lines 42–43); '"Son of a whore," he said, "villain, you shall die as a traitor"' (Smithers, lines 3912–13; 'Then came the Normans with their nasty malice' (Brook and Leslie, line 3547; Allen, trans., line 3547). In quoting from *LB*, *KA*, and *HS*, I use these editions throughout (though others were consulted). On the few occasions that I offer a translation of a longer quotation, these derive for *LB* from Madden's or Allen's translations, as indicated, and for *KA* and *HS* are my own based on Smithers' glossary and the *MED*. For these frequently used sources I use short title references throughout as indicated at the start of the bibliography.

English rather than French, one language rather than another in a multilingual society, what are the implications for the text's audience? If you then include elements of one language in a text in the other (e.g. French in an English text), what is the effect on the reader? It is with such questions that this thesis is concerned. They relate to the larger question of what it meant to write in ME before the later fourteenth century. In other words, this asks what 'idea of the vernacular' emerges from these texts, what may be recovered about what those working on the texts thought they were doing.[2]

The first quotation thus raises the issue of the implications of the sociolinguistic situation for the choice of language in literary culture. Current understandings of the contexts of ME literature emphasise the complex shifting and intermingling that took place between people, languages and cultures. Still vibrant Latin and French literary traditions were joined by increasing numbers of texts in English and a wider sector of the population was able to participate in literate culture. Consequently, to understand a ME text, we must consider its textual tradition in each of these languages as well as the implications of the texts and languages they appear next to in manuscripts.

The long-term extensive contact of Latin, French and English involved a group of speakers no longer seen today as having been limited to the nobility, but joined by various ranks who acquired professional competence in languages beyond English. As a result, 'neither the historical nor the sociolinguistic evidence suggests that Anglo-French may be treated as though it was a foreign element in medieval England'.[3] It is even problematic to speak of the languages as separate or use terms like loanwords, since the border between the two lexical systems is fuzzy and includes an area of overlap.[4]

Historical, linguistic and literary work on the ME period is catching up with this view. Literary studies have taken up the question of what the sociolinguistic situation means for our conjectures about the creators and audiences of texts, and for the common practice of medieval translation. The exciting dynamism of it lies in the range of options faced by each individual language user in each linguistic interaction. Those who knew

[2] *The Idea of the Vernacular*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and others (Exeter: Exeter UP and Pennsylvania State UP, 1999).
[3] David Trotter, 'The Anglo-French lexis of *Ancrene Wisse*,' in *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse*, ed. by Yoko Wada (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), pp. 83–102 (p. 84).
[4] Consequently, I avoid terminology such as loanwords, speaking rather of French-derived vocabulary. Cf. Philip Durkin, *Borrowed Words: A History of Loanwords in English* (Oxford: OUP, 2014), p. 10.

more than English (or had picked up bits and pieces of Latin and French) had to choose what to say (or write, or read) when, to whom and in what language.

Multilingualism on the Page

The second aspect of ME studies to which my thesis responds concerns literary studies that look at the moments when French appears in ME texts. These moments are interpreted to better understand the text, its author's literary art, and what it is saying about its time or culture. My focus is on the interaction between French and English as present in ME texts, i.e. the effect of the inclusion of French-derived vocabulary, French phrases, and references to French. This multilingualism in texts or 'on the page' has been the subject of a number of studies, whose authors point out that more research from this perspective would be revealing.[5]

What is still lacking is a coherent approach and more developed method. Up to now, studies concern either only a single text or passage, to demonstrate the possible uses of considering multilingualism on the page, or a single genre, noting patterns across related texts. It is time to attempt consolidating these findings and arrive at more broadly tenable conclusions. The method used so far consists of identifying notable foreign linguistic elements, especially full phrases, and relating these to the immediate context in the text as well as the broader sociohistorical context and linguistic situation.

Although this has led to some insightful analyses of individual texts, many broader questions remain. The patterns found by Machan and Summerfield do not fully match each other, for example, while Baswell's idea of French breaking through in a palimpsest-like way or as *pentimento* is not always accepted (see 3.4). More problematically, the urgent question that has barely been addressed is how foreign linguistic elements relate to the language use of the rest of the text. If we are to examine the effect of Alexander the Great bursting out in French in the second quotation above, surely we must know more about how often and in what ways French elements occur in that text. The effect is very different if hardly any French-derived words and phrases are found than if the text habitually uses them. Providing an analysis of such effects

[5] Christopher Baswell, 'Multilingualism on the Page', in *Middle English*, ed. by Paul Strohm (Oxford: OUP, 2007), pp. 38–50; cf. the works by Thea Summerfield, Tim William Machan and Jonathan Hsy in the bibliography. There is a related interest in macaronic poetry, noted in Hsy; this differs from multilingualism on the page in containing a consistent mixture of languages rather than a clearly dominant (matrix) language with occasional code-switches to another language.

supported by a broader study of French elements in the language of a text is therefore the primary aim of this thesis.

Summerfield especially has made a start at engaging with this question by studying what she calls the French 'flavour' of a passage, by which she means the inclusion of French-derived vocabulary to create a style closer to French. Effectively this means bringing in style and register, which have seen little systematic study certainly for earlier ME (see 5.4). Yet her analysis is limited to commenting on striking words and phrases, leaving us with the crucial question of when a French-derived word is striking or stands out. Particularly in the century-and-a-half before 1350, an enormous influx of French-derived words took place in ME, many of which became such normal everyday words that they would no longer be perceived as foreign elements. Considering French phrases in ME thus raises the linguistic issue of the degree of integration of that vocabulary.

This is not easily determined: as Philip Durkin notes, 'developing the right methodologies to explore the changing lexicon and the place of loanwords within it remains hugely challenging, and is a field that is really still in its infancy'.[6] A major aim of my thesis is therefore to bring together previous work on the integration of French-derived words in ME, providing not just an analysis more firmly grounded in the linguistic evidence of the text than previous work but also a method that may be applied to other ME texts.

Relating Middle English Writing to French Texts, Language, and Culture

The third aspect of literary-cultural studies that forms an important interaction with the sociolinguistic situation reaches back to the old historical question of the relation between the English and the French in the centuries after the Norman Conquest. By extension, this concerns the issue of collective identity in relation to language (see 1.4). The third quotation above, from *LB*, makes frequent appearances in such discussions as an example of a lasting negative view of the French among the native English (see 2.1 and 6.2). Since the *Brut* is also written in a style that appears to avoid French-derived vocabulary, it is tempting to link Laȝamon's regret about the Conquest to a rejection of French linguistic influence. This would connect the use of French elements and choice

[6] Durkin, *Borrowed Words*, p. 428.

of language to the expression of identity. Given this suggestion, how should we evaluate a style characterised by high or low proportions of French-derived vocabulary or the appearance of French phrases?

We know that the connection between language and collective identity (whether or not we wish to call it national) was more tenuous in medieval England than in modern nation states. Yet we are faced with occasional comments that appear to reveal attitudes such as those supposed for Laȝamon. It is also recognised that texts can express complex and nuanced identities by way of the information they present and how they present it. Among neither historians nor ME scholars is there agreement on the extent to which a sense of English collective identity prevailed between 1200 and 1400. The same applies to the role the use of English may have played in such sentiments. It is clear, however, that isolated quotations like that from *LB* are in need of confirmation by considering their textual context, and some common suggestions of lines revealing a pro-English attitude do not hold up on close reading (see 1.4.2 and 4.1.4). For the texts in my study, this analysis of French elements serves as input for a data-based evaluation of scholarship on attitudes to French and English.

This thesis, then, responds to the developments sketched above by adding a linguistically broader and more supported analysis to studies of 'multilingualism on the page'. Second, it uses these to critically evaluate claims of a link between language and collective identity. On the one hand, my aims are literary-historical (better understanding these texts, their contexts and the implications of the sociolinguistic situation). On the other hand they are linguistic in tracing the influx of French vocabulary in ME that now constitutes a fifth of modern English vocabulary, including much of the common core vocabulary. The great wave of French-derived vocabulary appears in surviving sources from 1300, already slowing down by the later fourteenth century.[7] As Chaucer, Gower and the Gawain poet wrote their classics, they already had available a vastly amplified lexical repertoire. Understanding the choices they faced requires a better understanding of how that vocabulary made its way into and spread through ME.

The following assumptions have shaped my approach. Firstly, an author or adapter is likely to adapt the vocabulary of his text to the audience he is aiming at. Second, frequent occurrence of French-derived words that had, according to the evidence of

[7] Durkin, *Borrowed Words*, pp. 22–45.

other attestations, not yet been integrated in the English language would suggest that the intended audience had at least some knowledge of French. In contrast, the lack of such occurrences in a text (especially one translated and adapted from a French source) suggests that its audience was not required to have any knowledge of French. When a text of the second type also contains explicit statements about the level of learning of its intended audience, as in the quotation from Mannyng, lack of unusual French-derived vocabulary may be seen as supporting those statements and increasing the credibility of the author's claim.

The established nature of ME writing and of the French element in it by 1400 is the primary reason for my choice of period, from *c.* 1200 to 1350. The texts in this study were selected as having been written within this period, though not all survive in manuscripts from before 1350. They intentionally cover different text types, to give an impression of the different ways in which French elements featured in ME rather than conclusions relevant for one text type only. Each text has also in some way been seen as related to a discourse of Englishness. In *LB* this is based on its possibly archaic Anglo-Saxon style and famous comment on the Normans. *KA* is included in the Auchinleck manuscript, which is unusual for its time in containing a large number of ME texts in a single codex. Most ME texts in the earlier fourteenth century were included in manuscripts alongside French or Latin. Differing conclusions have been drawn about the implications of this for the manuscript's audience (see chapter 6, and 3.1 for the other manuscripts in which this text survives). *HS* may offer few comments of a political nature, but Mannyng's other text, the chronicle *Story of England*, presents an 'opinionated' history.[8]

Additionally, the texts have been selected based on previous scholarship that suggested differing degrees of inclusion of French elements. Laȝamon's *Brut* contains relatively few French-derived words and no phrases. *Kyng Alisaunder*, by contrast, is noted for the inclusion of large numbers of rare French-derived words as well as phrases. *Handlyng Synne* falls in between, containing a large amount of French-derived vocabulary but not apparently of a rare kind, while explicitly claiming to write for an unlearned audience that might not know French.

Because of these differences as well as the different materials available, the exact method of analysis varies per text. Theoretical considerations and a description of the

[8] Sullens, p. xv. For discussion and references, see 2.1, 3.1 and 4.1.

general method used are given in chapter 1, after a presentation of relevant political, social, linguistic and cultural contexts of ME literature 1250–1350. This includes an introduction to identity as perspective for analysing the implications of French elements for audiences of ME texts. The data set is described and analysed per text in the subsequent chapters: chapter 2 on *LB*, chapter 3 on *KA*, and chapter 4 on *HS*. These chapters also introduce relevant scholarship on the texts. Based on these analyses, the final chapters then discuss the extent to which we can recover the sociocultural implications of the three works. Of these, chapter 5 focuses on the contexts of the French elements within the texts themselves, taking different angles that may explain their use as well as exploring their effect. Firstly, studying the distribution of the French elements across the text may identify clusters (5.2). Next, a comparison between *LB*, *KA* and *HS* and their source texts examines to what extent the French elements owe their presence in these ME texts to the act of translation (5.3). Third, I explore whether the use of French elements appears to be linked to certain registers (5.4). Lastly, 5.5 broadens the investigation by turning to the representation of multilingualism in these texts. Chapter 6 then addresses the larger cultural contexts by considering the implications of the French elements for the expression of various identities (national/ethnic, religious, social and cultural), and draws conclusions that may be used to inform studies of these texts, their audiences, and the larger questions of collective identity in relation to language use.

Chapter 1: Contexts of and Approaches to Medieval English Literature, c. 1200–1350

1.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces aspects of the general historical context of the period 1200–1350 along with a number of issues specific to this study. In the first place, tracing the sociocultural implications of French elements in ME texts requires knowledge of the sociolinguistic situation in medieval England. Who spoke and/or wrote what languages and what were the social and cultural connotations of the use of those languages? On what evidence do we base the answers to such questions? Next, this sociolinguistic situation came about through political, social and cultural developments. Relations between the languages of medieval England also continued to change over the course of this period, influenced by the political and social context. A brief sketch of these contexts therefore begins the chapter (1.1), after which the sociolinguistic situation is discussed as well as the educational opportunities that helped maintain it (1.2). Then follows a contextualisation of ME textual culture (1.3), since understanding the sociocultural implications of French in ME texts also rests on an awareness of the ways in which texts were produced and transmitted. This includes consideration of the close interrelations of French and English literary culture. My discussion of the current understanding of these topics in this chapter serves to describe the assumptions that underlie my analysis of French elements in *LB*, *KA* and *HS* in the chapters that follow. Similarly, the subsequent presentation (in 1.4) of approaches to the study of identity provides a framework for analysing the sociocultural implications of French elements in chapter 6. This includes consideration of the suitability of the term national identity. Lastly, 1.5 introduces the methodological considerations that underpin my analysis in chapters 2–4.

1.1.1 Socio-Political Contexts 1250–1350

This section introduces aspects of political and social history relevant to our understanding of the relation of French and English at the time *LB*, *KA* and *HS* were produced and read. It therefore focuses on the century and a half between 1200 and 1350, the period in which these texts and some of the manuscripts in which they survive

were created. Of these, *LB* and its manuscripts span the thirteenth century (see 2.1), while *KA* and *HS* were both written around 1300 and a fragment of *KA* survives in the Auchinleck manuscript of *c.* 1330. Although it took place long before this period, the Norman Conquest looms too large in the historiography of medieval England to avoid mention here. Beyond its position as the most important event in the English Middle Ages in popular perception, William of Normandy's hostile takeover introduced both an aristocracy and a language which together resulted, over the next few centuries, in the complex multilingual situation of which this thesis traces some of the implications.

The inheritance of the Conquest is discussed in 1.4.2, including critical evaluations which question the extent to which various developments should be attributed to it. Of these it is already relevant to note that while the Conquest brought French-speaking nobles to Britain and established French as the elite vernacular, the cultural dominance of France in the thirteenth century probably would have meant that French would have been used more in England in this period anyway, similar to the use of continental French in England from the late fourteenth century.[1] Linguistically, the effect of the Conquest can be seen rather in the development of Anglo-French (AF) as a distinctive variety and the extent to which the English population came to use the language, discussed in 1.2.

Politically, England became connected even more closely to the European political sphere. The kings of England and many lords held lands in France and spent time there, for administrative, defensive or social purposes. This deep connection hastened changes such as the rise of a bureaucratic system of government. The appointment of Frenchmen to high administrative positions assisted the change to Latin as language of record and the subsequent decline of the Old English (OE) written standard.[2]

Throughout this period England was ruled by families with important interests on the continent, even when losses were sustained there. These intricate connections between English rulers and nobility and various European kingdoms, notably France, could move both ways: at John's death, Prince Louis of France invaded and it was feared England would become appended to the Kingdom of France. Both monarchies remained

[1] M.T. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers 1066–1307*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), p. 239.
[2] The general term 'Frenchmen' is used here in recognition of the fact that those who came with William were from various regions of France.

a significant threat to each other.[3] By contrast, only a small step lower on the social scale, the twelfth century had already seen a gradual reidentification as Anglo-French lords came to associate themselves primarily with their English lands, a process cemented by the loss of Normandy in 1204 (see 1.4.2).

The thirteenth century saw several confrontations between monarchs and barons, notably Magna Carta (1215) and the Provisions of Oxford (1258). A part of the barons' concern in these cases was the excessive influence of foreigners imported by the various kings, interesting in light of many of the barons' own continental origins. The newcomers' region of origin reflects the kings' changing continental interests: Normans were succeeded by Poitevins under Henry III and his heirs, with Henry III also adding Savoyards and Provençaux after his marriage.[4]

Among the higher strata of society, a social development was taking place by the later thirteenth century as the gentry became increasingly recognisable as a distinct group. They were set apart from the upper nobility through a lack of wealth and social recognition, but also from those below them by possessing a manor. The gentry is generally agreed to be clearly identifiable by the mid- to late-fourteenth century, though their origins begin to be discernible in the later thirteenth century.[5] Consequently, it is difficult to evaluate to what extent they may have formed part of the early audiences of *LB*, *KA* and *HS*.

Two other aspects of social change in this period had direct repercussions for the sociolinguistic situation, as new and larger groups had a need for pragmatic literacy including knowledge of French. The first involves the increasing prominence of urban populations, including many merchants and craftsmen.[6] The second concerns the professional class including the many administrative officials involved in anything from manorial management to the law.[7] This latter group increased along with the royal

[3] Cf. David Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (Berkely and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 1–49.
[4] Clanchy, *England and its Rulers*, pp. 190–94 and 250–52.
[5] Michael Johnston, *Romance and the Gentry in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: OUP, 2014), pp. 22–24, pointing to Peter Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), p. 240 and (for the gentry's earlier development) David Crouch, *The English Aristocracy, 1070–1272: A Social Transformation* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale UP, 2011), pp. 59–61.
[6] Richard Britnell, 'Town Life,' in Horrox and Ormrod, eds, *A Social History of England*, pp. 134–78. Details of urban growth are given at pp. 143–54, while the ranks of urban society are discussed at 154–63.
[7] See Alan Harding, *England in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993); Nicholas Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1973), pp. 43–50. Orme discusses medieval attempts to place these groups in the tripartite model of *oratores*, *bellatores* and *laboratores* (p. 12). On

bureaucracy, and spread with the growing use of documentation that is discussed at the start of 1.2. That section then turns to education and the sociolinguistic situation, considering the acquired competence in French of both these newly prominent social groups.

1.2 Sociolinguistic Contexts: Language and Education

1.2.1 Literacy and Education

Between the eleventh and late thirteenth centuries a shift took place in England (concurrently with the rest of Western Europe) from a culture in which literate modes of thinking were unusual, even among rulers, to one which relied on literacy for its day-to-day affairs. Records and writs reached far into the countryside and by the end of the thirteenth century even villeins were familiar with literate modes of communication and some participated in them, by the use of seals, even if not actually literate themselves. From a practice associated with solemn purposes, literacy spread through record keeping to ordinary business.[8] This led to an increase in literate officials both in the courts and at various levels of administration and therefore to a larger potential audience for private and social consumption of texts.

In medieval usage, literacy and its opposite often referred to the ability to read and possibly write Latin, and by extension to learning in general. In this way someone described as **illiteratus** might actually be able to read a vernacular. Prologues to medieval texts often refer to their supposed audiences with these terms, in ME also with *lerned* and *lewed*, but their exact intended sense is not always clear. Unless specified, I use **literate** in its main modern sense of 'able to read and write' (*OED*). The point at which that ability is seen as sufficient for participation in society differs between current Western culture and medieval England. For example, while being able to read did in the latter situation greatly increase in importance, the ability to write remained more limited.

---

this model, see S.H. Rigby, 'Introduction: Social structure and economic change in late medieval England,' in Horrox and Ormrod, eds, *A Social History of England*, pp. 1-30 and Georges Duby, *Les Trois Ordres, ou l'Imaginaire du Féodalisme* (Paris: Gallimard, 1978).

[8] M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), pp. 44–80. On the implications for literature, see Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written language and models of interpretation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Princeton UP, 1983).

This difference highlights the importance of remaining aware of our bias towards textuality.[9] While the production and reception of literature may by this time have become connected to the idea of letters and texts, its practice was often oral in varying degrees. Some references in manuscripts suggest that the texts were read aloud to an audience such as a family, for example by a chaplain, forming a social experience. From comments in texts we know that even when texts were read privately one could voice or mouth the words.[10] To describe this combination of orality and literacy, Joyce Coleman has suggested the term 'aurality'.[11] In the production of texts we find a similar intermingling, as composition was influenced by literate, Latin, modes of writing even when works derived from an oral tradition.

All this raises the question of how people acquired their letters. In *English Schools in the Middle Ages*, Nicholas Orme argues against the traditional idea that medieval schooling was purely the domain of monks. Regular clergy certainly were involved in education. However, lay people could receive schooling in many other forms. Medieval educational institutes were generally all referred to as *schola*, with more specific names referencing the contents of their curriculum. The lowest level of education was formed by the 'reading' or 'song' schools that provided elementary training in letters and plainsong. This was done in cathedral schools, at chantries or collegiate churches (after 1300), or more informally by local chaplains and parish clerks. Often the intention was to provide the church or college with local boys of sufficient training for their choirs or other roles in church. Some allowed other children to join as well, perhaps for a fee, though some endowments specify that the poor should be taught for free. On the whole, primary education was 'rudimentary in its organisation' and the ways in which children or adults acquired their letters varied greatly.[12]

Formally the next level of training was provided at the grammar schools, which taught Latin grammar and literature and prepared for higher education. The distinction was not universal: sometimes elementary lessons were taught there as well. Grammar schools were much more organised and had a large body of works to use for theory and

[9] Clanchy, *Memory*, pp. 7–16.
[10] Clanchy, *Memory*, p. 2; Joyce Coleman, 'Aurality', in *Middle English*, ed. by Paul Strohm (Oxford: OUP, 2007), pp. 68–84.
[11] Coleman, 'Aurality'.
[12] Orme, *English Schools*, pp. 60–68; quotation at 67–68. Cf. his later *Medieval Schools from Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 55–66.

practice. Also, many more patrons were interested in endowing such schools. The public or free schools received enough to offer their services for free.[13]

As the grammar schools were intended originally to prepare for higher studies, their focus was linguistic and, in literature, on poetry. For those attending school as preparation for an administrative, legal or commercial career, this was not the most useful material and accordingly some schoolmasters specialised in their direction, offering more detailed study of dictamen (the art of composing letters) and often teaching accounting and French, too. Oxford became the chief centre for business studies, through scholars who settled there (apart from the university). There are also indications of scriveners teaching business skills and, as with basic literacy, informal training from seniors must have played an important role.[14]

What grammar schools really prepared for was further study at university. In the thirteenth century, the public teaching by masters that had been happening since the twelfth century was institutionalised. Oxford and Cambridge acquired national status as universities; other places where teaching took place dwindled as a result. The exception was formed by chancellor's schools in cathedral towns, which came to specialise in theology and canon law. They were stimulated by the Lateran councils of 1179 and 1215 and their orders that each archbishop should appoint a master of theology. Local clergy provided an obvious audience for these schools. Lecturing there was subject to interruption or neglect, but does not seem to have been wholly abandoned until the Reformation. In the thirteenth century the friars also developed a system of schools and lectures that was imitated by some monks and canons.[15] Attending sermons was a mode in which especially urban populations are likely to have received instruction, particularly with the advent of the friars.[16]

The clergy had an obvious need for literacy in their work too and, as we have seen, it was often possible to acquire learning within the church. A common complaint, however, was that priests and others knew too little to properly perform their duties. Records of ordinations reveal that in some places, at least, candidates were at times refused due to illiteracy or instituted on the condition that they receive further

[13] Orme, *English Schools*, pp. 69–70.
[14] Orme summarises that three groups had use for business studies: those training for careers in royal, noble or gentle administration, those apprenticed in crafts 'that entailed' letters, records and accounting, and the aristocracy (*English Schools*, pp. 70–78; *Medieval Schools*, p. 73).
[15] Orme, *English Schools*, pp. 79–82.
[16] Britnell, pp. 168–69.

schooling. It is clear that, certainly among lower clergy, knowledge of Latin was not ubiquitous. The clergy, it must be concluded, spanned a wide range of literacy and competence.

Among the nobility and gentry it could be useful to send younger children, who would not inherit, to be schooled in order to set them up for a career in church, administration or law that would provide an income. As estate management became more complex, education gained an additional purpose. Those seeking a career in administration or law could be sent to grammar school first and could rise through the ranks from an apprenticeship. Alternatively, university graduates could enter at a higher level. Merchants, artisans and craftsmen had a use for literacy when holding public office as well as for maintaining their personal affairs.[17] In conclusion, there were various ways in which one could send a child to be educated or in which literacy could be acquired at a later age. The type of schooling was likely to be geared to a specific prospective career that lay within one's means. For even though not all schooling was costly, some funds to live on were needed during one's education. In addition, some positions especially in the church required proof of income, limiting social mobility.

Access to schooling may also have been limited by the languages one had acquired, for there is ample documentation that French was used in teaching Latin up to 1349.[18] With regard to this, it has been noted that Latin–French glossaries and other textbooks could be used in two ways: to teach Latin to those who knew French, and to teach some French to *clerici litterati*. Within classrooms, some could get help with their Latin in French and others in English.[19] Alternatively, Richard Ingham has put forward a hypothesis that French was acquired in the song schools, forming a basic knowledge that allowed those who continued to other schooling to be taught in it.[20] Above, we already saw that alternative teaching of French was set up for those interested in business studies who had not received this basis. Education was thus one way in which some at least in medieval England acquired proficiency in French, while of others it required such knowledge to be present already. Based on this, the following subsection

[17] Orme, *English Schools*, pp. 11–56.
[18] Richard Ingham, 'Mixing Languages on the Manor', *Medium Ævum* 78:2 (2009), 80–97 (p. 81); Orme, *Medieval Schools*, p. 75.
[19] *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England*, (Cambridge: Brewer, 1991), I, p. 13, pointing to William Rothwell, 'The Role of French in Thirteenth-Century England,' *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 58 (2) (1976), 445–66 (pp. 460–61).
[20] *The Transmission of Anglo-Norman: Language History and Language Acquisition* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012).

turns fully to the key questions of who acquired French in medieval England, for what purpose, and how.

1.2.2 Sociolinguistic Context

The change from oral to written culture was brought about by changes in administration and bureaucracy that also brought into being a population of literate professionals, able to read and write probably in Latin and possibly in one or both of the vernaculars as well. This situation informs the current view of the sociolinguistic situation in England between 1200 and 1350. In discussing this, I move from oral proficiency (ability to understand or speak) to literacy (in the various languages) and literature (appearing in different languages).

Before the Conquest, (Old) English (OE) was the language spoken by the vast majority of the inhabitants of England. In Wales and Scotland, Celtic languages were also spoken, while English was greatly influenced by the language of Scandinavian settlers in the north and East Midlands, with changes spreading south.[21] Given my aim of charting the sociocultural implications of French elements in ME texts, these aspects of the sociolinguistic context do not feature heavily in the chapters that follow as I maintain a focus on French in medieval England.

Medieval insular French has been variously referred to as Anglo-Norman (disregarding the varied regional origins of William the Conqueror's army and originally used pejoratively), Anglo-French (originally reserved for later medieval French as used especially in law), and the French of England (intended as more neutral alternative attentive to its longstanding importance). Currently, Anglo-French (AF) is also used in a more neutral way to indicate the variety of medieval French found in England. It is in this sense that I adopt its use here when referring specifically to insular

[21] For an overview of the languages spoken in Britain during the Middle Ages and further sources, see John Burrow, 'The Languages of Medieval England', in Ellis, ed., *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, pp. 7–28. R. R. Davies' analysis emphasises, on the one hand, the 'shifting, multi-layered, and complex cultural worlds of the British Isles in the fourteenth century' including various languages, and on the other hand the fact that by the end of the century 'elsewhere in the British Isles it was the age of the confident flourishing of native languages and literature' as 'the indigenous languages were making substantial gains at the expense of, or at least alongside, English, the premier language of the governing elite' (*The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles, 1093–1343* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), p. 182).

French. Old French (OF) as a more general term is left to refer to continental French (CF) or more generally to the entirety of medieval French.[22]

After the Conquest, English remained the language spoken by the vast majority. The number of 'foreigners' who remained in England with William was relatively small (in one estimate, about 10,000 in a population of about one and a half million).[23] Since French functioned as new language of status among the upper classes, some native English would presumably have been incentivised to (further) acquire the language. However, this new motive did not apply to the more numerous lower classes. French became the favoured language, then, but only in specific and limited social circles. There are indications that even those families which included William's settlers became bilingual within just a few generations. In part this would have been through intermarriage with English families. In addition, children of French background would learn English from their native-speaking carers.[24]

The evidence suggests that this bilingualism persisted through the twelfth and into the thirteenth century. Even when ties with the continent weakened, AF remained in use as spoken language. Manuals of instruction begin to appear in the thirteenth century. Their appearance has been taken as a sign of the degeneration of AF, but clearly signals two rather different points. Firstly, there evidently was a desire for proficiency in French that these manuals could deliver. Second, early texts such as Walter de Bibbesworth's *Tretiz* actually presuppose knowledge of the basics of the language. They help the more advanced learner speak more accurately, avoiding commonly confused words and they often teach French for specific purposes, such as estate management, which naturally one would not acquire along with everyday French. The fourteenth century saw an increase in such texts, suggesting a growing need as well as a continuing usefulness.[25] What we see then is not the death of spoken AF and its limited

[22] Cf. Philip Durkin, *Borrowed Words: A History of Loanwords in English* (Oxford: OUP, 2014), p. 230. See Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, 'General introduction: What's in a name: the 'French' of 'England',' in Wogan-Browne, ed., *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*, pp. 1–13, for an evaluation of earlier uses and arguments for the adoption of French of England as term.
[23] Clanchy, *England and its Rulers*, p. 45.
[24] See, for example, William Rothwell, 'English and French in England after 1362', *English Studies* 82.6 (2001), 539–59.
[25] Clanchy, *Memory*, pp. 197–98; Burrow, 'Languages of Medieval England,' pp. 17–20. On *Le Tretiz*, see Walter de Bibbesworth, *Le Tretiz, edited by William Rothwell from MS. G (Cambridge University Library Gg.1.1) and MS. T (Trinity College, Cambridge 0.2.21) together with two Anglo-French poems in praise of women (British Library, MS. Additional 46919)* (The Anglo-Norman On-Line Hub, 2009); Douglas A. Kibbee, *For to speke Frenche trewely: The French Language in England, 1000–1600: Its Status, Description and Instruction* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1991).

resurrection through textbooks but a continued vitality both in basic proficiency and for serious purposes requiring dedicated study. This was not however as sole language, but existed alongside knowledge of English except for some in the highest aristocracy. Consequently, we must suppose a long-term situation of bilingualism among the country's elite (ignoring for the moment the role of Latin).[26]

Admittedly, drawing conclusions about spoken language in the past is problematic since no direct evidence is available. Originally, the main method was to study comments about proficiency in various languages found in literary texts, like John of Trevisa's comment that school children know no more French than their left heel or the much-quoted prologue to *Of Arthour and Merlin* (see 3.1). These comments often represent single examples which may or may not be representative. Also, they may serve rhetorical functions rather than straightforwardly presenting the sociolinguistic situation (see 1.4).[27] Unsurprisingly, then, the same evidence has been interpreted in widely different ways, ranging from a view where French threatened to replace English as main vernacular to one where French had disappeared almost entirely by the thirteenth century. The former view retained currency well into the twentieth century, but the problematic assumptions behind it now appear to have been clearly revealed.[28] The current view of a complex intermingling of three languages (English, French and Latin), especially but not exclusively in elite and professional contexts, receives additional support from sociolinguistic studies that examine French and English linguistic elements in urban and manorial records. Such studies show the variety of contexts in which French was in use and in which there must have been people able to

[26] On the vitality of AF, see e.g. Ian Short, 'Patrons and Polyglots: French Literature in Twelfth-Century England', *Anglo-Norman Studies 14*, ed. by Marjorie Chibnall (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1992), pp. 229–49 and, more recently, Wogan-Browne, 'Introduction,' and Serge Lusignan, 'French Language in Contact with English: Social Context and Linguistic Change (mid-13th – 14th centuries),' in the same volume, pp. 19–30. Several articles in that volume argue for knowledge of French for specific purposes among an even broader group.

[27] On Trevisa, see e.g. R. M. Wilson, 'English and French in England 1100–1300,' *History* NS 28 (1943), 37–60. One dubious example concerns Orderic Vitalis, whose father was from Orléans, and who was born in 1075 but at the age of ten could not understand French when sent to Normandy to become a monk. This may be telling us rather about the mutual intelligibility of French dialects at the time.

[28] For an overview of this debate, see the notes in Wogan-Browne, 'Introduction', p. 6 and Lusignan. One of the clearest refutations of the view of very widespread French proficiency at all social levels is William Rothwell, 'À quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler français en Angleterre?', in *Mélanges de philologie romane offerts à Charles Camproux*, II (Montpellier: Université Paul-Valéry, 1978), pp. 1075-89.

use it.[29] The sociocultural implications of French are therefore not linked exclusively to a rigid social division between nobility and the rest.[30]

On the whole, what emerges for the spoken situation is that French entered as the native language of a small group and remained in use among many in the upper classes, although mostly alongside English. Other groups of speakers include urban elites and those who acquired it for professional purposes alongside their written skills, especially many officials at court or in the law but eventually including estate management. Presumably there were those, even before the Conquest, who knew some French (or Dutch, German or Scandinavian, etc.) to trade with the relevant countries. Not much is known about this until merchant guilds rose to prominence in the later Middle Ages, when they are similar in linguistic and cultural interests to the traditional upper classes.[31]

Speaking French does not necessarily imply an ability to write or even read, nor does writing in general require knowledge of French. In professional contexts the two are likely to have gone together. The new professional class was not only literate (in Latin) but also likely conversant in French, as indicated by the availability of schooling in French for business purposes. In this sense this group of speakers is different from the aristocracy, where speaking some French appears still to have been common (though not universal) but literacy was not always required. In all, what emerges is a far from uniform situation, where people from many different backgrounds had widely differing levels of oral and/or written proficiency in French and/or Latin next to an often native level of at least spoken English. Their proficiencies, moreover, were mostly purposefully acquired for professional or social reasons.[32]

A major implication of this multilingual situation for the study of ME is that a degree of merger may be expected to have taken place between these speakers' linguistic systems, a grey or fuzzy area where words or phrases could be felt to belong to both languages. Indeed there is some evidence suggesting such confusion, which further

---

[29] Lusignan evaluates recent work of this kind; see e.g. Laura Wright, *Sources of London English: Medieval Thames Vocabulary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Ingham, 'Mixing Languages on the Manor'; and various articles in *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain*, ed. by D. A. Trotter (Cambridge, 2000).

[30] Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and Nicholas Watson, 'The French of England: The *Compileison*, *Ancrene Wisse*, and the Idea of Anglo-Norman,' *Cultural Traffic in the Medieval Romance World*, ed. by Simon Gaunt and Julian Weiss, *Journal of Romance Studies* 4.3 (Winter 2004), 35–58 (p. 35).

[31] See Rothwell, 'English and French', and Burrow, 'Languages of Medieval England', pp. 17–20.

[32] On the teaching of French, see Orme, *English Schools*, pp. 71–75.

reinforces the view of an intimate relation between French and English in this group of speakers and literates who handled both languages with ease at least in certain contexts.[33] This close contact between French and English and potential confusion between the two is also important to consider when attempting to isolate French elements in English texts. It is necessary to define French elements in order to evaluate their sociocultural implications. At the same time, this distinction has a degree of artificiality, running counter to the experience of the bilingual individuals involved in the production and perhaps consumption of texts like *LB*, *KA* and *HS*. In such a context it is problematic to speak of code-switching and borrowing of words, since to an extent we are dealing with a single lexical system or at least two systems with an unclear border. Modern research on multilingualism, too, demonstrates that bilingual speakers have a degree of overlap in their linguistic choices from the languages they use and fuzziness in the distinction between them.[34] This point would render the attempt to isolate lexical items as belonging to one or the other both pointless and a misreading of the historical and linguistic context.

While for individual authors and scribes this linguistic merger of English and French would often have happened, the act of translation between the two vernaculars presupposes a distinction and requires the translator to navigate that border, however fuzzy. Moreover the audience of a ME text could, and probably would, include monolinguals who would not for the most part understand an OF text.[35] The act of translating into English would involve at least an awareness of this group. In these two ways the need to distinguish between the two languages would be clear to the translator and his resulting choice of lexis may be the subject of examination.

---

[33] Macaronic business writing contains vocabulary and morphology common to both French and ME, making it impossible to determine the language represented by a particular form. See Wright, *Sources of London English*, p. 8. In addition, Tony Hunt's work on vernacular glosses in Latin works has brought to light instances where scribes attribute words to the wrong language. For a list of some such mistakes, see Margaret Laing, *A Catalogue of Sources for a Linguistic Atlas of Early Medieval English* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1993), p. 7 and n. 17. Her list is based on material from Tony Hunt, 'Vernacular glosses in medieval manuscripts', *Cultura Neo-Latina* 39 (1997), 9–37. For Hunt's full materials, see *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England*.

[34] See e.g. Suzanne Romaine, *Bilingualism*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995) and Josiane F. Hamers and Michel H. A. Blanc, *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: CUP, 2000). A review of recent work on modern multilingualism revealed little of relevance for the context studied here, of long-term bi- or trilingualism among an educated elite. For studies relevant to evaluating lexical borrowing in a contact situation, see Philip Durkin, *The Oxford Guide to Etymology* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), pp. 132–178.

[35] For the role of such monolinguals and their direct or indirect participation in literate culture, even as producers of documents, see David Trotter, 'Death, taxes and property: Some code-switching evidence from Dover, Southampton and York,' in *Code-switching in Early English*, ed. by Herbert Schendl and Laura Wright (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2003), pp. 155–190.

Turning, lastly, to the linguistic situation as represented by the surviving literature, it must again be emphasised that the surviving manuscripts and texts need not accurately reflect the spoken or indeed written situation. Because so many manuscripts and thus texts have been lost, we cannot be certain that the surviving sample is representative. However, the existence of a text or manuscript proves at least that someone at that time thought there was an audience for a certain sort of text, in the language that was chosen for it. With that very carefully phrased statement, we may begin a brief examination of manuscripts and texts that survive in the various languages of medieval England.

First of all it should be noted that throughout the medieval period manuscripts in Latin outnumber those in vernaculars. In pre-Conquest England, OE had gained considerable acceptance as a written language, but with the Conquest its standard form fell out of use and it was largely replaced by Latin.[36] From the twelfth century, many texts and manuscripts were produced in French.[37] Producing and especially copying of AF texts continued in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. New English compositions began gradually to be produced in the late twelfth century and increased in number during the thirteenth century, but only become numerous from around 1300.[38] The most important testimony of the manuscripts, however, is the fact that most manuscripts that contain vernacular items contain more than one language.[39] This, again, suggests an intensively multilingual situation.

We find that the norm for early ME is to find it in company with Latin and also frequently in company with French. Manuscripts entirely in English are certainly found but mixed traditions are very common at this period. Consequently, we must expect intensive contact between French and English literature. It would be mistaken to consider them two literary cultures, and we should think instead of a single cultural sphere. Admittedly, those who did not understand French had access to only a part of it, but those who produced, translated, wrote, redacted and copied these texts knew about it

[36] Much recent work has traced the afterlives of OE, as texts continued to be read and copied. See e.g. Seth Lerer, 'Old English and its afterlife,' in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. by David Wallace (Cambridge: CUP, 2013), pp. 7–34.
[37] Ian Short, 'Patrons and Polyglots: French Literature in Twelfth-Century England', *Anglo-Norman Studies 14*, ed. by Marjorie Chibnall (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1992), pp. 229–49. See especially the overview in *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts*, ed. by Rugh Dean and Maureen Boulton (London: ANTS, 1999).
[38] On manuscripts of this period, see Tim William Machan, 'Manuscript Culture', in Ellis, ed., *The Oxford History of Literary Translation*, pp. 29–44. On texts of the period, see Edward Wheatley, 'The Developing Corpus of Literary Translation', in the same volume, pp. 173–89.
[39] See for example John Scahill, 'Trilingualism in Early Middle English Miscellanies: Languages and Literature', *The Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003), 18–32.

more fully and mediated that knowledge. The range of activities mentioned in the previous sentence introduces a key aspect of the practice of medieval manuscript culture, the last set of cultural contexts to be sketched in this chapter as background for my examination of the sociocultural implications of French in ME texts.

1.3 The Context of Texts

Laȝamon, the *KA* poet, Robert Mannyng of Brunne: whether named or not, it is easy to think about the authors of these texts as fully responsible for the literary product before us today. However, the practices of medieval textual production show up the importance of remaining aware of the differences between medieval and modern textual cultures, not just in terms of what it meant to read (introduced above) but also as to what constitutes a text or its authorship.[40] By 1300 literature had become a clearly bookish activity, in that a text would be expected to be written down. It would often be read out, perhaps sometimes recited from memory, but not composed in performance, though no doubt skilful readers added their own touches to a text.[41]

Such manuscripts were expensive to produce, even those executed humbly, and consequently the number of manuscripts available in an affluent household at any time would be limited. As noted in 1.2, most ME texts surviving from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries are found in manuscripts also containing items in Latin and/or French, often of a diverse nature with relatively entertaining texts as well as primarily edifying or practical material. The latter usually outnumber the former.

Some manuscripts have a unity among their contents suggesting the texts were brought together purposefully, probably commissioned by the first owner. The Auchinleck manuscript with its many romances, including *KA*, is an interesting example of how the texts appear to have been modified (compared to other surviving versions) to better suit the volume's overall interests.[42] Others appear more miscellaneous,

---

[40] A general source for this section is Machan, 'Manuscript Culture'. A recent appraisal of the topic is provided in *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches*, ed. by M. Johnston and M. Van Dussen, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: CUP, 2015).

[41] On the argument of continued storytelling by minstrels, see Ad Putter, 'Middle English Romances and the Oral Tradition,' in *Medieval Oral Literature*, ed. by Karl Reichl (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), pp. 335–51. If texts were read out, this might be done in the great hall but also, increasingly, in private chambers with more restricted audiences.

[42] For a recent appraisal of the evidence, see Derek A. Pearsall, 'The Auchinleck Manuscript forty years on,' in *The Auchinleck Manuscript: New Perspectives*, ed. by Susanna Fein (York: York Medieval Press,

suggesting a mode of production where texts became available for copying every now and then and items were added as deemed useful or as opportunity allowed. Even these manuscript contexts, however, provide indications of the purpose a text may have served or the broader interests of a text's audience.[43]

In either case, commissioning a manuscript required affluence, just as affluence might attract authors to dedicate a work or manuscript to someone in hopes of patronage, a strategy pursued famously and effectively on the continent by Christine de Pizan.[44] Very few original owners of manuscripts have been identified before the later fourteenth century and our knowledge of the production of manuscripts is similarly scarce. By the later fourteenth century it had in part become organised in bookshops which created texts and manuscripts in hopes of attracting buyers. The theory that Auchinleck was produced in an early version of such a bookshop is now rejected, and a less formal setting is envisaged instead, with a network of professionals cooperating as opportunity allowed. These were already well distanced from the monastic centres of early medieval book production and will instead have been associated with, and drawn from, the bureaucratic practices mentioned in 1.2. Again, for later fourteenth-century London this connection has now been demonstrated, as various scribes of literary manuscripts have been identified through comparison with surviving documents.[45]

Once produced, manuscripts circulated and might be lent and texts would be read by or copied for new audiences. In the copying, changes were inevitably made, either accidental, like the occasional error, or on purpose, to improve the text in the redactor's eye or make its language into a more acceptable variety for the new intended audience.

2016), pp. 11–25, and Timothy A. Shonk, 'Paraphs, piecework, and presentation: the production methods of Auchinleck revisited,' in the same volume, pp. 176–94.

[43] Such a study involving the Caligula manuscript of *LB* is Neil Cartlidge, 'The Composition and Social Context of Oxford, Jesus College, Ms 29(Ii) and London, British Library, Ms Cotton Caligula A.Ix.,' *Medium Ævum* 66.2 (1997), 250–69. Cartlidge concludes the range of texts in the two manuscripts he studied is such that a varied audience must be supposed. The manuscript context of the full versions of *KA* are discussed in Nicole Clifton, '*Kyng Alisaunder* and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 622,' *Journal of the Early Book Society for the Study of Manuscripts and Printing History* 18 (2015), 29–49.

[44] James Laidlaw, 'Christine and the manuscript tradition,' in *Christine de Pizan: A Casebook*, ed. by Barbara K. Altmann and Deborah L. McGrady (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 231–50.

[45] On patronage, see Wheatley, 'Corpus,' and Roger Ellis, 'Patronage and Sponsorship of Translation,' in Ellis, ed., *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, pp. 98–115. On ownership of books, see Orme, *English Schools*, pp. 29–36. For Auchinleck and the bookshop theory, see Pearsall in *The Auchinleck Manuscript: New Perspectives*. On scribal activity in London, see Linne R. Mooney, 'Chaucer's Scribe,' *Speculum* 81.1 (Jan. 2006), 97–138, and 'Locating Scribal Activity in Late Medieval London', in *Design and distribution of late medieval manuscripts in England*, ed. by Margaret Connolly and Linne R. Mooney (York: York Medieval Press, 2008), pp. 183–204.

To those involved in the process, the lines between what we call scribe, redactor and writer will have been porous. This variation produced during copying was considered acceptable and normal.[46]

Although authority of textual traditions was an important aspect of medieval textual cultures, these went back mainly to great figures of authority like the church fathers and not so much to the contemporary author producing a vernacular translation or even an original composition. This is reflected in the usual absence of a named author. Both Laȝamon and Mannyng are anomalous within earlier medieval vernacular literature in terms of how much they tell us about themselves. Moreover, even in texts associated with figures of authority, it was considered not just normal but good practice to translate them to be more understandable to the envisaged audience.[47]

LB, *KA* and *HS* each survive in several manuscripts, mostly dated long after the texts are thought or known to have been written. Where these manuscripts offer different readings these are not necessarily a sign of degeneracy of the textual tradition or errors by incompetent scribes, obscuring an authorial original, but reflect the nature of medieval manuscript culture as sketched above. Given my interest in the earlier fourteenth century and the later date of most *KA* and *HS* manuscripts, I engage in some speculation about the language of earlier versions of these texts, but without intending to privilege certain readings over others or reconstruct the author's choices over those of others involved.

In sum, the ways in which medieval texts were produced and transmitted in manuscripts defy modern notions of the author and the single, stable text. This is particularly relevant for *LB*, where the two surviving versions have been judged very differently depending on a postulated proximity to Laȝamon's authorial version.[48] Our ability to draw conclusions about the development of texts is limited by the fact that those versions that remain are only a chance selection of all that once existed. If we also

[46] See e.g. Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie*, Des travaux 8 (Paris: Seuil, 1989). For variation between versions of *LB*, see note 48 below. The variation shown by a heavily modified version of *KA* found in MS Lincoln's Inn 150 is explained as consistent revision in Simon Horobin and Alison Wiggins, 'Reconsidering Lincoln's Inn Ms 150,' *Medium Ævum* 77:1 (2008), 30–53.

[47] Cf. Nicholas Watson, 'Theories of Translation,' in Ellis, ed., *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, pp. 73–91.

[48] Recent scholarship on *LB* is much engaged in trying out alternative interpretations of the relation between the versions; see chapter 2.1 for further discussion. A thorough examination of the implications of medieval scribal culture for our evaluation of *LB* is given in Elizabeth J. Bryan, *Collaborative Meaning in Medieval Scribal Culture: The Otho Layamon* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1999), pp. 3–60.

wish to trace intertextual influences, then we need to similarly consider that many texts which once existed to influence others are now lost. In chapters 2–4 I consider the texts as they survive in manuscript witnesses, filtered through the editorial process, which differs for each of the texts and is explained in the introductions to each of these chapters.

In studying the sociocultural implications of French in ME texts, these limitations must be kept in mind. However, those implications we are most likely to be able to recover would have been shared by groups of language users, including the different individuals contributing to the particular manuscript versions available to us. This means that we cannot necessarily attribute the inclusion of a French element to the text's named or unnamed 'original' author. Although for convenience I regularly speak about Laȝamon, the *KA* poet and Mannyng, their choices and intentions, this is done with awareness of the probable involvement of others. Indeed, it may be best to consider these names as shorthand or constructs to refer to the combined authorship of the manuscript versions analysed here, as received by those who heard or read these manuscripts.

Those audiences' recognition of the sociocultural implications of French elements is of course essential to the effectiveness of their inclusion. We may assume those creating or modifying the text will have had this in mind (and some changes at later stages may well have served to adjust the text to better suit the new intended audience). The reception of texts is already recognised in literary theory as highly dependent on the reader and thus variable, an inconstancy increased for medieval texts by their own changeability. The reception of a text is shaped by various identities that a reader experiences in response to it, and which the reader considers to be expressed by the text. Identities thus provide an interesting perspective on the interaction of text and audience in light of our search for an understanding of the audiences of medieval texts. For this reason, approaches to studying identity are introduced in the next section.

This brief overview of the contexts of medieval manuscripts has been general, with some details relevant to *LB*, *KA* and *HS*, and obscures the great variation found between texts and genres. For example, looking at the genre of *KA*, manuscripts containing romances in ME are found among the gentry but cannot be linked to noble ownership.

At the same time we have suggestions that the audiences of some ME romances were continuous from that of their AF sources.[49]

Genre is a frequently used tool for categorising texts, but it is problematic both in medieval studies and modern literary theory (see 6.5). Here, I may already point out that *LB* and *KA* could both be considered texts of historical interest, despite the usual classification of *KA* as romance (and there is evidence for other romances that medieval readers appreciated them as historical texts). Also, each of the three texts in my study has a claim to edification rather than entertainment, regardless of their generic differences. Since my analysis concerns three texts traditionally assigned to different genres, differences between them may be influenced by generic conventions, something I consider in 6.5. However, since I treat only a single text per genre, my study is not aimed at drawing broader conclusions about the use of French elements in these genres.

One final aspect of the cultural context requires mention here, before 1.4 turns to the study of identity. Many ME texts were translations from Latin or French, although there were also reworkings of OE texts and new compositions, some of which were in turn translated into French or Latin. The practice of translation (and the theories behind that practice) is thus of importance for our understanding of ME literary production. It has even been suggested that the centrality of translation created a literary tradition characterised by lexical innovation.[50] As a concept, translation encompassed a broader semantic range in medieval usage than in modern English. The original sense of moving from place to place, like the translation of relics, was extended metaphorically to texts moving between languages. Medieval comments on the process of translation tend to favour a method of 'sense by sense' translation, contrasted with 'word by word'. Most commonly, however, the act of translation was not theorised by ME authors, while the actual practices of those who present claims about their method are varied.[51]

---

[49] Rosalind Field, 'Popular Romance: The Material and the Problems,' in *A Companion to Medieval Popular Romance*, ed. by Raluca L. Radulescu and Cory James Rushton (Cambridge: Brewer, 2009), pp. 9–30 (p. 15). Carol M. Meale comments that noble collections of the fourteenth centuries tend to replace AF material with texts of continental provenance instead ('"gode men / Wiues maydnes and alle men": Romance and Its Audiences,' in *Readings in Medieval English Romance*, ed. by Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), pp. 209–25 (p. 215)).

[50] Christopher Cannon, *The Making of Chaucer's English: A Study of Words* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998). I evaluate this argument in 6.5.

[51] Watson, 'Theories of Translation'. *The Idea of the Vernacular* presents comments from ME texts on the process of translation.

Such thinking about translation as is explicitly present in ME texts is ultimately indebted to classical ideas about translation, as traced by Rita Copeland.[52] For the Romans, translation from Greek was intimately involved in the transfer of political and then cultural power from Greece to Rome. In this way, translation can serve to appropriate cultural functions from source language to target language. Watson argues that this perspective is important to consider for ME texts, but pertains to a relatively narrow range of texts. Generally, less aggressive relations between source and text predominate. This conclusion is reinforced when we consider the broader cultural environment in which these texts were produced, the various multilingual noble, professional and urban communities who in the course of their daily lives switched continually between languages.[53]

It should be emphasised that however crucial to the production of ME literature these multilingual literates were, they still constituted a limited part of society. One of the questions before us therefore is what effect their everyday linguistic usage had on those around them of lesser skill. At the same time, literates were far from homogeneous in their command of spoken and written varieties of English, French and Latin. In a further complication, as words and phrases of French (and Latin) origin spread to those without a broader command of French, their designation as purely monolingual becomes untenable. For the multilinguals, meanwhile, the overlap of linguistic systems has already been noted in 1.2.

The previous paragraph introduces the issue of how lexical influence on ME proceeded, i.e. the path of transmission. It was once asserted that a large part of that great wave of French-derived vocabulary that made its way into ME entered ME through the practice of literary translation. This view of linguistic change rests on the common-sense idea that, in view of the constant act of translation, 'it would have been rather exceptional if English writers had consistently resisted the temptation to carry French words over into their adaptations'.[54] With regard to Chaucer, his reputation as father of English poetry rested in part on a similar interpretation, in which his

---

[52] Rita Copeland, Rhetoric, *Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991).
[53] My focus on French elements requires me for the most part to ignore the role of Latin in that multilingual cultural context. On the importance of Latin influence on ME literature, see Jeremy Catto, 'Written English: The Making of the Language, 1370–1400,' *Past and Present* 179 (2003), 24–59.
[54] Albert C. Baugh and Thomas Cable, *A History of the English Language*, 3rd edn (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978), p. 177, quoted in Merete Smith, 'Literary Loanwords from Old French in *The Romaunt of the Rose*: A Note,' *The Chaucer Review* 17 (1982), 89–93. For other examples of this view see Cannon, *Making of Chaucer's English*, pp. 9–47.

translations are seen as the vehicle for extensive lexical innovation. In 1982, Merete Smith already demonstrated that the textual evidence points to a different relation between source text, translation, and lexical innovation. Although the occurrence of a word in both source and translation makes it highly tempting to suppose one has found the origin of the ME word, the evidence is against this in the majority of cases in the form of prior attestations in other ME texts. Equally importantly, in those few cases when a word is actually used in ME as a result of the process of literary translation, it does not become adopted into the language at large.[55]

The use of many of these words must be traced instead to the multilingual practices of the varied group of professionals who acquired some degree of proficiency in Latin or French.[56] For more common words often found in source texts, we cannot exclude the possibility that it was their repeated use in literary translations that led to their broader adoption in ME. This is especially the case for those words less likely to have seen everyday use or belonging to specific contexts of use (i.e. registers; see 5.4); for more basic words, the sequence more probably began with oral use in daily life. In an age in which a relatively limited number of texts was available, the stories that were available may have been heard or read multiple times, leading to the acquisition of certain words and their subsequent further dissemination. But if these words also saw use in some of the professional contexts mentioned, that path of transmission remains at least as probable.

Perhaps it is precisely the conjunction of these two areas of language use, literary and professional, that was most effective in not just adopting but disseminating French-derived vocabulary in ME. If a word was part of the total vocabulary of a group of multilingual professionals, then it is more likely to have been used in ME literature. After all, most ME authors wrote next to other duties or professions, further suggesting the likelihood of attunement between these two spheres. The regular presence in source texts may then have led to regular use in translations. It is in this form, then, that the

[55] Cf. the later and more extensive study in Cannon, *Making of Chaucer's English* (see 6.5). A summary of Cannon's figures and related studies is found in D. Gary Miller, *External Influences on English: From its Beginnings to the Renaissance* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), pp. 161–63.

[56] Derek Pearsall similarly posits that spoken language may have played an important role in the development of ME literary language ('Before Chaucer : evidences of an English literary vernacular with a standardizing tendency,' in *The Beginnings of Standardization: Language and Culture in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. by Ursula Schaeffer (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 27–41).

process of literary translation may have played a role in the adoption of French-derived vocabulary.[57]

Research on reading comprehension in modern languages indicates that a reader needs to comprehend 90 to 95% of the words in a text in order to read easily.[58] From this perspective, the occasional use of a rare French-derived term is not indicative of an audience limited to those who knew French as well as English. But unless the ME author-translator was happy to have these words fall on deaf ears and included them only for his own stylistic pleasure, a possibility we cannot discard entirely, it is likely that the intended audience at least included some who would be able to understand these terms and appreciate the effect of their inclusion. Such indeed is the implied or certainly the ideal reader we can reconstruct from the texts.[59] The range of vocabulary can make the texts interesting for a broad audience, for example one including both younger and older readers, as Nicole Clifton has suggested for the Auchinleck manuscript.[60]

[57] An intermediate but improbable option is implied by Barbara Fennell's brief comment on the process, that 'literary borrowing of French only really gained pace in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, English writers freely borrowing French words, since they were sure of a familiarity with French on the part of their readers'. This requires a situation in which the audience was bilingual but did not themselves employ French-derived words in their own discourse in English, or hear others do so outside of the literary sphere. See *A History of English: A Sociolinguistic Approach*, Blackwell Textbooks in Linguistics (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), p. 107.

[58] W.E. Nagy and J. Scott, 'Vocabulary Processes,' in *Handbook of Reading Research*, III, ed. by M. Kamil and others (Mahwah, N.J.: Erlbaum, 2000), pp. 269–84. Compare the finding that word recognition accuracy of 99% (i.e., 99 of 100 words are decoded accurately) indicates independent reading, while scores below 90% indicate a frustrating reading experience (Timothy V. Rasinski and others, 'Reading Fluency,' in *Handbook of Reading Research*, IV, ed. by Michael L. Kamil and others (New York and London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 286–319 (p. 294)).

[59] Rosamund Allen has discussed the implied audience of the *Brut*, an audience 'suggested by the narrative mode' and not just as addressed by the narrator ('The Implied Audience of Laȝamon's *Brut*,' in Le Saux, ed., *The Text and Tradition of Layamon's 'Brut'*, pp. 121–39 (pp. 121–22)). She draws on various concepts of author and reader by Eco, Jauss and Iser (Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semantics of Texts* (London: Hutchinson, 1981); Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1982); Wolfgang Iser, *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett* (Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 1974)). Cf. more recently her 'Did Lawman Nod, or Is It We that Yawn?' in Allen and others, eds, *Reading Laȝamon's 'Brut'*, pp. 21–52, and the recent overview in Wolf Schmid, 'Implied Reader,' in *Handbook of Narratology*, 2nd edn, I, ed. by Peter Hühn and others (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), pp. 301–09. Schmid lists as one of the aspects of texts that point to their 'presumed addressee' the language use and register they are presumed to grasp.

[60] '*Of Arthour and of Merlin* as Medieval Children's Literature,' *Arthuriana* 13.2 (Summer 2003), 9–22 and '*The Seven Sages of Rome*, Children's Literature, and the Auchinleck Manuscript,' in *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality*, ed. by Regine Eckardt and others (Hawthorne, NY: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), pp. 185–201.

1.4 Language and Identity

What did it mean for those in medieval England whose linguistic practices moved between French and English, or between varieties of English containing more or less French-derived lexis, to choose one option or another from their linguistic repertoire? Answering that question is to engage with the concept of identity. In other words, identity provides a relevant framework for recovering the sociocultural implications of French in ME texts. Since language can not just reveal aspects of individual or group identity, but also may be part of the experience of identity, my conclusions in chapter 6 are structured around different identities. This introductory section sets out current definitions of identity in general and discusses national and ethnic identity in medieval England, since these identities feature frequently in discussions of ME literature.

Although studies of medieval literature with some regularity allude to the concept of identity, only some of these include definitions based on work in those disciplines that habitually study the concept. The result is a methodological lack of rigour, in particular for national identity, where there is the additional problem of the definition of nation and whether or not it is appropriately applicable to medieval population groups (taken up in 1.4.2). Texts are presented as containing, expressing or constructing certain identities. Part of the evidence in support of this is often the use of one or more specific languages, from among those available, or references to social or ethnic groups and their languages. For each of the texts in my study, the critical debate on either the texts themselves or the manuscript context or author centred on the use of the English language in relation to national or cultural identity (see Introduction, 2.1, 3.1.1 and 4.1.4).

Given the early date of these texts within ME literature, this reveals a general focus on this aspect for texts written before English had securely established itself as literary vernacular in the later fourteenth century. Moreover, as discussed in the previous section, studies of translation as cultural appropriation also highlight the significance of the act of translation and the choice of a(nother) vernacular. However, the complex sociolinguistic situation in thirteenth and early fourteenth-century England does not allow for a simple one-way model in which English gradually appropriated the cultural prestige of French.[61] In interpreting the relation between French elements in *LB*, *KA* and

[61] See, for example, the complicated picture established by the essays in *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in England, c. 800 – 1250*, ed. by E.M. Tyler (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011) and Wogan-Browne, ed.,

HS and their sociocultural contexts, I am therefore interested in the intersection of linguistic identity with other forms of identity such as social, cultural, national and religious.

The dictum that history is written by the victor cannot be ignored in historical sociolinguistics, and medieval comments reflecting sociolinguistic attitudes must be studied critically. The greatly divergent scholarly narratives of the role of French in medieval England, discussed in 1.2, remind us not only of the room offered by the historical material for widely differing interpretations, but also of the influence of the culture in which scholars operate. Both the eager adoption of nationalist terminology for medieval Europe and its subsequent rejection by some are examples of this. Currently, attention to postcolonialism in the humanities serves as prompt to ensure that we remain alert to not simply accepting the narratives transmitted by the dominant culture of a period, whether medieval or modern.

In studies of multilingualism, this attention considers the role of languages of power. As Helen Fulton points out, 'contemporary cultural theorists from Michel Foucault to Pierre Bourdieu have argued for the close connection between language and hegemonic power, creating a struggle which is both economic and ideological to determine who may speak, in what contexts, and to whose advantage.'[62] It should be born in mind that neither Foucault nor Bourdieu was particularly interested in multilingualism, focusing on discourse and power within a monolingual French context characterised by a strong standard language associated with a nation state. In medieval Western Europe, Latin remained the language of power, with the majority in England and France alike denied a voice in many contexts because of class. Without the normative prescriptivism of modern states, a choice of language variety will have born connotations, but not necessarily involving power relations in the same way.

Language and Culture in Medieval Britain. This is not to suggest that work on translation as appropriation conceives of the process as simple (see especially Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation*).

[62] Helen Fulton, 'Negotiating Welshness: Multilingualism in Wales Before and After 1066,' in *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in England, c. 800 – 1250*, ed. by E.M. Tyler (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 145–70. For a similar perspective from modern linguistics, see e.g. *Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts*, ed. by Aneta Pavlenko and Adrian Blackledge, Bilingual Education and Bilingualism 45, ed. by Nancy H. Hornberger and Colin Baker (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2004).

1.4.1 Identity: A General Introduction

This section presents a brief overview of theories of identity, informed by sociological and social psychological theories of identity, though not always turning to these directly. It should be noted that within each of these fields approaches to identity have varied. Nick Webber points out that for anthropologists identity 'is just as divisive an issue' as for historians.[63] Similarly, John E. Joseph comments that 'for the last 40 years sociolinguists and social psychologists have both been disappointed in the others' failure to provide an adequate model for their own purposes'.[64]

In what follows, then, I search not for the discipline or model that may provide the ultimate answer to the theoretical questions regarding the study of identity that remain unanswered in literary studies. Rather, I bring together those concepts and tools that help construct an approach to identity interpretatively useful for the study of the sociocultural aspects of medieval texts. While these do not provide a fully satisfactory model, they are sufficient to bringing a more informed perspective on identity to my investigation. As Webber notes, 'perhaps some of the difficulties arise from historians striving to be objective about subjectivity'.[65]

The key characteristics shared by much work on identity in the social sciences, which to varying extents have found their way into work on medieval identity, are as follows. First, identity is characterised by multiplicity, meaning that individuals have various identities rather than a single one.[66] Second, these identities are constructed rather than having some essential, objective nature.[67] They are also mutable, shifting in prominence over time and per person or situation.[68] Next, identity can be viewed from either the social or group dimension or from an individual perspective, i.e. our self-identity versus how others construct our identities. Essentially, though, these dimensions cannot be separated. It is also possible to consider a three-way distinction between individual, relational and communal identities. Each of these is the subjective

[63] Nick Webber, *The Evolution of Norman Identity, 911–1154* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), p. 4.
[64] *Language and Identity: National, Ethnic, Religious* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), p. 83.
[65] Webber, p. 4. He concludes that overall the models he used could be applied effectively, though their use is complicated by, for example, the lack of modern work on conquest scenarios (pp. 179–80).
[66] Cf. Miri Rubin, 'Identities,' in Horrox and Ormrod, eds, *A Social History of England*, pp. 383–412 (p. 391), and Webber, p. 139, who draws on Clifford Geertz, 'Primordial and civic ties,' in *Nationalism*, ed. by John Hutchison and Anthony D. Smith (Oxford, OUP: 1994), pp. 29–34 and Peter Weinreich, 'The operationalisation of identity theory in racial and ethnic relations,' in *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations*, ed. by John Rex and David Mason (Cambridge: CUP, 1986), pp. 299–320.
[67] Joseph, *Language and Identity*, pp. 6, 90.
[68] Webber, p. 5.

experience of the individual, a performed self-categorisation that includes how we see others as perceiving us.[69] Social Identity Theory further emphasises

> that the fact of membership is the essential thing, rather than anything having to do with the nature of the group itself; that an individual's own knowledge of the membership, and the particular value they attach to it – completely 'subjective' factors – are what count; and that emotional significance is not some trivial side effect of the identity belonging but an integral part of it.[70]

Identities are, in short, something people 'construct, deconstruct, reconstruct, manifest, perform, read and interpret [...] as part of their own identity repertoire'.[71]

Much work on identity has ascribed a central role to language in the experience or definition of identity, a tendency evident too in historical work, with varying degrees of awareness of the stronger link extant in modern nations between language and national identity. It is in works on the modern nation that this link was presented as particularly strong.[72] The applicability of national identity to medieval society is debated and I return to that issue in 1.4.2. Now, given my interest in language in relation to identity, it is worth commenting on the ways in which it features in theories of identity. Some scholars of identity present themselves as centrally focused on linguistic identity, such as Joseph. Speaking of the social significance of language variation between speakers, he comments that

> Our identities are indexed in the languages we speak and write and in how we speak and write them. This indexicality does not need to be intentional; people will interpret our identities based on our language whether we want them to or not. Their interpretations will be grounded, to a surprisingly large degree, in the 'layers of time' that steady linguistic evolution has produced in every language.[73]

Traditional sociolinguistics saw language as revealing of individuals' identities, by containing features of one region, social group or gender rather than another. Subsequent work emphasises how language can also play a role in constructing identities. This is not a one-way process: languages and identities influence and construct one another.[74]

---

[69] Joseph, *Language and Identity*, p. 91, 77.
[70] John E. Joseph, 'Historical perspectives on language and identity,' in Preece, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Language and Identity*, pp. 19–33 (p. 23). Social Identity Theory in this form was put forward in H. Tajfel, 'Social categorization, social identity and social comparison,' in *Differentiation between social groups: studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*, ed. by H. Tajfel (London: Academic Press, 1978), pp. 61–76.
[71] Joseph, *Language and Identity*, p. 90. Cf. Rubin, p. 410.
[72] This is traced in detail in Joseph, *Language and Identity*, pp. 92–124; cf. 6.2.
[73] Joseph, 'Historical perspectives,' p. 30. A sample of studies accepting the link between identity and language as central to identity studies is given at p. 23.
[74] *Negotiation of Identities*, pp. 1–33; cf. Joseph, 'Historical perspectives,' p. 24.

Beyond constructing identities, however, language allows individuals to negotiate between different identities, actively adapting to the norm of the group they wish to claim membership of. Among studies of identity in multilingual contexts, interactional approaches concentrate on code-switching and language choice, recognising each utterance as a negotiation of identity that could have social and rhetorical effect, and drawing attention to marked and unmarked forms for claiming group membership or solidarity (see 1.5.1.2).

We may hope to uncover the relevance of medieval texts to the identities of the individuals and groups who used them. The immediate evidence at hand (the texts themselves) does not concern their identities, however, for we are dealing with representations of individuals and groups — created for a variety of purposes, usually by more than one individual working on texts over the course of their production and dissemination. The function of language to signal the negotiation of identities may be expected to be at work within texts, too, and narratives may be analysed for the extent to which they seem to construct or destabilise certain group identities, although this is not always easy to determine.[75] The first hurdle to be taken in this application is another riddle of definitions, the concept of national identities.

1.4.2 Identities Relating to Land, People and Politics

This section deals with various identities today called national, ethnic, and racial, which all deal with collectives of people unified under a set of characteristics that may include a common inhabited area and/or political unit, a supposed shared descent or physical characteristics, language, or cultural characteristics. Of these, only ethnic identity has escaped a debate over its applicability in premodern contexts.[76] For each of them, when used, care must be taken to avoid bringing modern preconceptions into our examination of the past.[77] As Webber notes, speaking not just of modern terminology but also of that found in medieval sources,

[75] Webber, p. 5.
[76] On race in the Middle Ages, see Cord J. Whitaker, ed., Special issue: 'Making Race Matter in the Middle Ages,' *postmedieval* 6.1 (Spring 2015) and Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (Cambridge: CUP, 2018).
[77] The long pedigree of this concern is evident from Vivian H. Galbraith, 'Language and Nationality in Medieval England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 23 (1941), 113–28 (p. 127).

> the study of (ethnic) identity in history is an area riddled with terminological difficulties. The acceptability and application of certain words and ideas seems to vary not just between schools of thought, but also between individual scholars. Yet to avoid using all the group terms that appear in our sources would create rather significant problems during discussion. It is necessary, therefore, to use these terms with a certain element of care, in the manner in which medieval people used them rather than as anthropologically defined elements.[78]

In studies of *LB*, for example, the text has been interpreted as engaging with Englishness in terms of ethnicity, land and nation (see 2.1). Approaches from history, literature and the social sciences need to be combined for effective analysis.[79] The following subsection deals with these issues of terminology, after which the remainder of 1.4 discusses these identities in the medieval English context.

1.4.2.1 Nation and Ethnicity in Medieval England: Terminology

For there to be national identity in a certain time and place, there has to be something called a nation. The issue of the extent to which the term nation is applicable in medieval situations, and what exactly is meant by it, is an old one, and again hinges on how that term is defined. In 1941, Galbraith concluded that

> The medieval state is properly defined as 'feudal', so long as we do not thereby exclude the elements at least of national sentiment: or we may just as well call it 'national' [...], so long as we recognise the existence of other and often contrary influences.

A strong assault on the use of the term, recognised still for its validity but infrequently followed, is Susan Reynolds' argument that we should 'avoid the confusions which arise from obviously ambiguous terminology', and that 'the word "national" is nearly always misleading', 'either tautological or teleological'. Instead, she suggests 'regnal'.[80] Today, a range of practices is found. Where some work uses the term without qualification, others include a note explaining the intended connotations, and others yet

---

[78] Webber, p. 9.

[79] Webber, p. 9, with examples of definitions at p. 4. Cf. the integrated approach to identity in medieval Britain in Rubin. Although not usually listed together with ethnicity, nation or race, smaller-scale collective identities (what we may call regional identities) are also relevant, both in modern and medieval identities. Since my analysis of French elements does not include geographical provenance and distribution of these elements, however, it is not possible to consider possible implications for regional identities. See Kathy Lavezzo, 'Nation,' in *A Handbook of Middle English Studies*, ed. by Marion Turner (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), pp. 363–78 (pp. 365–66). An interesting study of *LB* from this perspective is Carol Weinberg, ''By a noble church on the bank of the Severn': a Regional View of Laȝamon's *Brut*,' *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 26 (1995), 49–62.

[80] Galbraith, p. 127; Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and communities in Western Europe, 900–1300*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 253.

denounce it as 'far too loaded to use in any useful discussion of medieval identity structures'.[81]

The existence of nations in premodern times is also challenged by some working on modern nation states, whose definitions are framed in such a way as to exclude an earlier history (including elements such as a mass media and general citizenship).[82] The central idea of the nation as 'imagined political community', derived from Benedict Anderson, leaves open how that community was imagined and expressed, though Anderson considered concepts of national identity unthinkable in the Middle Ages.[83] Linked to key questions of continuity and change in history, the trick is (Anthony Smith suggests) to avoid either ignoring the important differences between modern and premodern nations or creating 'too great a disjunction' between them.[84] In general, Smith emphasises, nations are characterised by both objective factors (such as 'language, religion and customs, territory and institutions') and subjective ones (as in Anderson's definition). They differ from states by denoting a type of community, and not institutional activity, and from ethnic communities by having a political referent.[85]

Medievalists too have tried to show, though often to a home audience, ways in which medieval texts formulate ideas of nationhood.[86] Importantly, such work must be careful not to confuse what Derek Pearsall has referred to as 'a momentary surge in assertions of Englishness', such as found around 1290–1340 in response to particular historical

[81] The first of these is common among literary scholars, at least; an example of the second is Elizabeth J. Bryan, 'Layamon's Four Helens: Female Figurations of Nation in the *Brut*,' *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 26 (1995), 63–78; and the final quotation is from Webber, p. 159.
[82] For example, Timothy Brennan includes the premodern nation only as 'something more ancient and nebulous' besides its modern manifestation; see his 'The national longing for form', in *Nation and Narration*, ed. by Homi Bhabha (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), pp. 44–70 (p. 45), quoted in Diane Speed, 'The Construction of the Nation in Medieval English Romance,' in *Readings in Medieval English Romance*, ed. by Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), pp. 135–58 (p. 136).
[83] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991), p. 23; on the implications for medieval communities, see *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Simon Forde and others, Leeds Texts and Monographs, n.s., 14 (Leeds: Leeds Studies in English, 1995) and Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), p. 99.
[84] Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), p. 108. An evaluation of different views on the history of the nation is at pp. 87–119.
[85] Smith, *Nationalism*, pp. 11–12, evaluated in Lesley Johnson, 'Imagining Communities: Medieval and Modern,' in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Simon Forde and others, Leeds Texts and Monographs, n.s., 14 (Leeds: Leeds Studies in English, 1995), pp. 1–20 (pp. 6–8 and 13–14). Modernism versus perennialism is one of the key debates regarding nationalism. Smith eventually acknowledged that certain older contexts also met his definition (*The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000)).
[86] Thomas H. Crofts and Robert Allen Rouse, 'Middle English Popular Romance and National Identity,' in *A Companion to Medieval Popular Romance*, ed. by Raluca L. Radulescu and Cory James Rushton (Cambridge: Brewer, 2009), pp. 79–95.

circumstances, with a 'steadily growing sense of national feeling'.[87] Kathy Lavezzo's overview notes that the total image is not of 'a cohesive, coherent, and clearly defined nation, but a heterogeneous, hybrid, and shifting England', what Lavezzo argues may be a 'peculiarly medieval' concept of the nation.[88] This was 'complicated by ties between England and the continent, regionalisms within England itself, and even worrying similarities with the Saracen Other' and intersects with social and religious identities.[89] Historical and sociological work on identity confirms that national identity intersects and interacts continually with other identities. It is easy when looking for expressions of national identity to confuse these. Consequently, each text engaging in ideas of national identity will give its particular construction and interpretation of these possibly intersecting identities.[90]

Consensus that a range of collective sentiments existed is evident, albeit without agreement on the use of the term nation. One attempted solution to the conundrum has been looked for in medieval terminology for collective cultural communities. Various terms are found to describe the kind of community we could today call nation. Unhelpfully (but perhaps tellingly) most have a broad semantic range of denotations, including people, language, state or community. For example, *natio* and *nacioun* themselves could signify a community of many types or even a family or linguistic group.[91] This leaves us with no final answer, and suggests rather that the experience of belonging to a larger collective was as hard to nail down precisely then as scholars are

[87] Derek Pearsall, 'The idea of Englishness in the fifteenth century,' in *Nation, Court and Culture: New Essays on Fifteenth Century English Poetry*, ed. by Helen Cooney (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), pp. 15–27 (p. 15), quoted in Crofts and Rouse, p. 80. Works suggesting a national impulse in ME works include Speed (pp. 156–58) and Thorlac Turville-Petre in '*Havelok* and the History of the Nation,' in *Readings in Medieval English Romance*, ed. by Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), pp. 121–34 (p. 121).

[88] Lavezzo, pp. 366–68.

[89] Crofts and Rouse, p. 82. Christian identity was a unifying and necessary factor for the idea of a nation. As such the similarity in religious identity to other states was no impediment to the formation of a separate national identity (see Rubin).

[90] Such too is Johnson's conclusion ('Imagining Communities,' p. 14). See also Helen Philips, 'Nation, Region, Class and Gender,' in Ellis, ed., *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, pp. 45–69. A contextually specific construction of identities is suggested in '*Havelok* and the History of the Nation'.

[91] Cf. the range of senses included in the *MED* under **nacioun** or, for the French etymon, **nacion** in Godefroy. See Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood. Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), pp. 15–18, quoted in Smith, *Nationalism*, p. 94 and Webber, p. 8. An example of *nation* being wrongly read in the modern sense may be found in Peter Burke, *Language and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), pp. 160–62.

finding it now. When medieval peoples thought about their distinctiveness, the features listed would generally include customs, language, laws and descent.[92]

A connection between nation and language is suggested by the polysemy noted above, a single word denoting both, as well as the frequent inclusion of language among the features of a nation, both in medieval and modern contexts. It has been central within modern nationalist constructions of identity. Perhaps it is in the automatic transfer of that centrality that the greatest risk lies when speaking of national identity in the Middle Ages.[93] The presence of Latin next to vernaculars was only one factor complicating a simple identification with a national language, and national sentiments could be expressed in multiple languages.[94] Even for modern societies, the association of language, literacy and nation is widely criticised, stemming from a recognition that while language can be a strong identity marker its value varies between individuals.[95] Similarly, work on ethnic identity concludes that the relationship between language and ethnic identity in modern contexts is 'neither stable nor easily predicted'.[96]

Nevertheless, much has been made of comments in medieval texts on the merits of certain languages in relation to national identity, and even the mere choice of one language rather than another.[97] Working from identity studies, there is a point to the latter, given how identities are negotiated and constructed in discourse. However, the crucial point remains that we have to recover such social meanings of language choice from the evidence available, and cannot assume a simplistic relationship, for that too is evident from modern work on identity. In addition, if the choice of a particular language indeed contributes to the expression or negotiation of identities, how do we know whether it concerns national identity specifically, rather than another kind of collective

[92] Marjorie Chibnall, *The Debate on the Norman Conquest*, Issues in Historiography (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1999), p. 131; Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural change, 950–1350* (London: Allen Lane / The Penguin Press, 1993), p. 197.
[93] Cf. Galbraith, p. 127. Modern nations tended to promote a single national language (with only some exceptions of multilingual nations, like Switzerland), marginalising others. On the Early Modern roots of this process, see Burke.
[94] See e.g. Chibnall, p. 130; Lavezzo, p. 365.
[95] Adrian Blackledge and Angela Creese, *Multilingualism: A Critical Perspective*, Advances in Sociolinguistics, ed. by Sally Johnson (London and New York: Continuum, 2010).
[96] Sian Preece, 'Introduction: language and identity in applied linguistics,' in Preece, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Language and Identity*, pp. 1–16 (p. 5); Vally Lytra, 'Language and ethnic identity,' in Preece, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Language and Identity*, pp. 131–45 (p. 136).
[97] In English studies, this has been asserted prominently in *England the Nation* (p. 11), but cf. the careful evaluation in Hugh M. Thomas, *The English and The Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity 1066–c.1220* (Oxford: OUP, 2003), pp. 377–90.

identity?[98] Some other indication of a link with both people and state would be needed to establish that. If such indications may be found, we must ask, similar to Pearsall's question above, whether they point towards a steadily growing link between national or ethnic sentiment and language, or only show that this link was present at some moments for some groups of people.

1.4.2.2 Nation and Ethnicity in Medieval England: Contexts

The key issue in studies of collective identity in medieval England is the relationship of English and French, two vernaculars beside Latin as language of authority, learning and the church.[99] The relation between English and French developed along with relations between English and Normans following the Conquest, so that we are dealing with the impact and heritage of the Conquest.[100] This is an area of discussion heated enough to have occasioned a volume entitled *The Debate on the Norman Conquest* (Chibnall) and only its main conclusions and controversies may be noted here. Generally considered a landslide event, it has also been pointed out that it was not so much the Conquest itself that was exceptional but the eventual fact that it was the last, while its effects have been ascribed by some historians to general European developments that might have spread to Britain anyway.[101]

Early writing about the Conquest was in the main from an AF perspective and legitimised it, though some sources show protests against Norman oppression (if not actually questioning the justness of William's cause). The twelfth century saw a flourishing of historical writing, first in Latin, then also in French, which presents a more varied appraisal of the Conquest. Some writings reflected the mixed backgrounds of these historians, showing that the clean distinction presupposed by, for example, the

---

[98] Cf. the use of macaronic prose amongst the medieval merchant community, on which see Laura Wright's work, e.g. 'On variation and change in London medieval mixed-language business documents,' in *Language Contact and Development around the North Sea*, ed. by Merja Stenroos and others (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012), pp. 99–115.

[99] This centring of English, French and Latin generally ignores the other languages present in the British Isles, especially Celtic, and their speakers' identities, as pointed out in, for example, Davies, *First English Empire*. My specific concern with the implications of French in ME also has me leave these aside here.

[100] Although commonly used to refer to those who came with William both in medieval and modern times, these 'Normans' consisted of a complex range of rulers and settlers from many different regions of France. From 1154, the kings themselves were Angevin with a strong Aquitanian admix (see 1.1).

[101] Elaine Treharne, *Living through Conquest: The Politics of Early English, 1020–1220* (Oxford: OUP, 2012); Clanchy, *England and its Rulers*, pp. 28–29.

murdrum fine for any Englishman killing a Norman was rapidly eroding.[102] Modern historians disagree on when exactly this integration came about, but point to either the 1150s or the loss of Normandy in 1204.[103] There are comments from that time on the difficulty of telling Normans from English. This assimilation was paired with the learning of English by all AF families except the highest aristocracy (as to their continued learning of French, see 1.2), illustrating the permeability of language as identity marker, despite its representation as static.[104] The intense interest in historical writing of the time has itself been ascribed to a desire among the AF to appropriate the English past in a form that would enable them to take part in it.

What this means for English identity in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is that the distinction between English and French does not map easily onto a continued ethnic distinction between English and 'Normans'. At the same time, the continued significance of French in a variety of domains as well as among the aristocracy means that no simple reconfiguration of these languages came about along national lines. In addition, attitudes towards French were influenced on the one hand by rising tensions with France and on the other by the growing prestige of French culture (an international importance driven by Henry II's court), and thus of continental forms of that language. There is no full association of these languages with ethnic or national identities, but that does not preclude such association from having existed for some writers and audiences.

To illustrate that association historians often bring in quotations from what today we consider literature.[105] As J.D. Burnley notes, 'the historiography of English is spiced with such illustrative anecdotes and examples which in summary form seem to represent a substantial truth about some stage or event in the development of the language,' but in their decontextualised form often give rise to myths instead, mistaking rhetorical strategies for sociolinguistic reality.[106] The particular example discussed by Burnley is the prologue to the Auchinleck version of *AM*, which deviates from other

[102] For a summary, see Chibnall, pp. 9–27; details are in Webber and in Peter Damian-Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance: Inventing Vernacular Authority* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999).
[103] David Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery: Britain 1066–1284* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2003), pp. 2–3.
[104] J. J. Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain: On Difficult Middles* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 24.
[105] For example, Carpenter, p. 10.
[106] '"As this clerkes syen": exophoric reference in Middle English and French narrative,' in *De mot en mot: Aspects of medieval linguistics. Essays in honour of William Rothwell*, ed. by Stewart Gregory and D.A. Trotter (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), pp. 1–16 (p. 1). Exemplary for a more critical approach is Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy — Chaucer, Language and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford: OUP, 2009).

witnesses of the text, and is taken to emphasise the suitability of English for an English audience, more than French, casting this linguistic aspect as part of the manuscript's discourse of nationalism. However often quoted, this reading seems to overemphasise the national aspect. That French is socially restricted while English is not clearly supports the use of English for literature, because of competence and convenience, but does not explicitly signal national identity.[107] The prologue of Robert Mannyng's *Story of England* is similarly often taken to demonstrate the presence of a sense of English national identity, while Joyce Coleman argues convincingly it does no such thing.[108]

This does not mean that no convincing examples of anti-French or pro-English sentiment are found in medieval British writings up to the mid-fourteenth century. Douglas Moffat argues that racial disharmony 'contributed significantly to the dynamics of medieval English society'.[109] Unequivocal statements in ME chronicles about how the conquest has thrown the English into *seruage* or *thraldum*, a situation in which they claim to have remained to the present, suggest a discourse in which Englishness is linked to servitude. It was only one such discourse among many. The point is that we should not expect to find monolithic group identities but varied, conflicting or compatible collective identities the expression of which led to a range of discourses that authors, like individuals in everyday life, could negotiate linguistically.

In sum, I study how the texts in this thesis figure among the range of options available for the expression of English identity. In a broad sense, a nation 'may be defined as any considerable group of people who believe they *are* one', an imagined community without further required characteristics, and as such the term is evidently applicable to premodern contexts including medieval England.[110] In what ways it then differs from ethnicity or race remains problematic and the terms become almost

---

[107] *Of Arthur and Merlin*, ed. by O.D. Macrae-Gibson, EETS o.s. 268, 279 (London: EETS, 1973–1979), I, lines 21–24. See also 3.1.3.

[108] 'Strange Rhyme: Prosody and Nationhood in Robert Mannyng's "Story of England",' *Speculum* 78.4 (Oct. 2003), 1214–38. Butterfield argues the prologue refers to the use of French instead (p. 336). See 4.1.4.

[109] Douglas Moffat, 'Sin, conquest, servitude: English self-image in the chronicles of the early fourteenth century,' in *The Work of Work: Servitude, Slavery, and Labor in Medieval England*, ed. by Allen J. Frantzen and Douglas Moffat (Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 1994), pp. 146–68 (p. 146). His examples include Mannyng's *Story of England* and the chronicles of Thomas of Castleford and Robert of Gloucester. Chibnall argues Moffat is 'reading back modern racial tensions' and suggests these comments were 'simply observations' that were only seized on for the myth of the Norman Yoke by later readers. This ignores the great difference between his examples and Chibnall's indeed rather neutral ones from Higden and Trevisa (p. 131).

[110] Galbraith, p. 113, quoted in Chibnall, pp. 125–26 and Bartlett, p. 197.

synonymous. Where the national nature of an expression of identity is not evident, I use the more neutral term 'English collective identity' to begin with.[111]

The approaches to identity traced in this section underpin my analysis of French elements in *LB*, *KA* and *HS* in the following chapters, to be taken up explicitly in chapter 6 as I frame my conclusions. The following, final, section of chapter 1 introduces the method used to arrive at the data that yields those conclusions.

1.5 Studying the Sociocultural Implications of French in ME Texts

1.5.1.1 Conventions

As this section turns to my method, a brief practical note on conventions is first in order. Throughout my thesis I have followed the following conventions in citing ME texts, in order to avoid ambiguity. Dictionary headwords are given in bold; specific word forms found in manuscripts or editions and specific spellings are in italic font; a gloss, translation or quotation is in single quotation marks (where these are not derived from the relevant dictionary or edition, this is indicated). Word class is indicated in parentheses where a form is ambiguous; if a form has different separate entries, the number of the entry is given too, as in (n 1). Unless otherwise noted, dictionary headwords are based on the following dictionaries: for ME, the *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*), for modern English the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), for medieval insular French the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* (*AND*), and for medieval Latin (ML) the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (*DMLBS*). Of each of these, I used the online editions at various intervals in the period 2011–2018. During this time, the *OED* was in the process of being updated from the second edition to the third. This involved substantial revisions especially for etymological notes, crucial to my selection of data; these are discussed further in 1.4.2.1. The reference *OED3* is used to indicate a third edition entry. Similarly, the online *AND* underwent revisions to include second edition entries (*AND2*).

[111] When precise definitions of the type of identity involved are avoided, 'sense of Englishness' is often used, vague enough to fit many contexts.

1.5.1.2 Literature as Social Practice

The introduction and preceding sections have established the value of considering the sociocultural implications of French in ME texts. As was noted in the introduction, doing so requires considering the degree of integration of the French-derived vocabulary used in a text, a type of inquiry which as yet lacks a fully developed methodology.[112] The fluid multilingual context described in 1.2 also points to the difficulty of isolating French influence on ME. This section picks up these theoretical considerations before describing my general method in analysing the sociocultural implications of French in *LB*, *KA* and *HS*. Details of my method per text are given in the relevant chapter (chapter 2 for *LB*, chapter 3 for *KA*, and chapter 4 for *HS*).

As Helen Barr has pointed out, literature is a social practice, meaning we may examine the linguistic choices made by authors (and revisers) for their social effect.[113] The basic idea of tracing sociocultural implications of French in ME presumes that there are French elements in ME texts that would have stood out to a reader or listener in some way, distinct from the rest of the ME lexis of the text. This corresponds to the linguistic concept of *marked* versus *unmarked* usage of words and phrases.[114] Speakers choose from the array of options available based on denotative but also associative or connotative meaning. Words that retain an association with French can function as marked forms, and we may examine the implications of the linguistic choices that led to their inclusion in a text.

Consequently, in order to trace sociocultural implications of French elements, the degree of integration in ME of these elements has to be determined. If a word became commonly used early in ME, i.e. is attested in several different texts covering a longer period of time, it was probably well integrated by the fourteenth century and may not have stood out as French-derived. If, by contrast, there are few attestations in few texts or there are large periods between attestations, it may have been rare in ME. Based on surviving written attestations recorded in relevant dictionaries, as detailed in 1.5.3, my analysis seeks to determine to what extent a word was integrated in ME when it was

---

[112] Durkin, *Borrowed Words*, p. 428.
[113] *Socioliterary Practice in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: OUP, 2001).
[114] The use of the concept of markedness to analyse sociolinguistic and stylistic choices derives from work on markedness in code-switching by C. Myers-Scotton. On the history of the concept, see Edwin Battistella, 'Markedness in Linguistics,' in *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 2nd edn, ed. by James D. Wright (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2015), pp. 533–37, referring to *Codes and Consequences: Choosing Linguistic Varieties*, ed. by C. Myers-Scotton (Oxford: OUP, 1998).

used in *LB*, *KA* or *HS*. Additional ways of establishing the degree of integration of French-derived words are then described in 1.5.4. First, however, 1.5.2 considers the selection process: in the multilingual sociolinguistic context of medieval England, when may a word be considered as French-derived?

1.5.2 Different Forms of Lexical Influence in a Multilingual Context

This section pursues the implications of the vibrant sociolinguistic situation of medieval England for studying lexical influence. The relative artificiality of isolating French influence given the partial merger of linguistic systems for bilingual speakers was noted in 1.2. Nevertheless, since my interest is in the sociocultural associations of the use of French-derived words, words that may also derive from OE or Latin cannot be included in my analysis.[115] Assessing French influence on the text in general requires an assessment of the likelihood of French influence on individual words. In determining which data to include for analysis, this led to the need to establish and maintain consistent criteria while dealing with complex etymologies and words of possible Latin provenance (1.4.2.1). In addition, since the sociocultural implications of the French of England and that of the continent differed, it is necessary to consider how we may distinguish between insular and continental French (1.4.2.2).

Words were considered for inclusion in the data set based on multiple sources detailed in 2.2, 3.1 and 4.2. For *KA*, this relied in the main on previous studies and my own reading, while for *HS* use was made of the etymological classification in the concordance to Mannyng's text.[116] For *LB*, lastly, earlier studies were combined with a search of the *MED*. For both *HS* and *LB*, this was a practical first step that yielded a broad selection of data. However, since the *MED* etymologies 'are very brief and do not reflect extensive research', like Gburek's classification, it was then necessary to critically evaluate the inclusion of each word.[117] Some words were excluded because the role of French in the etymology was doubtful, or because French influence on the

[115] Faced with a similar dilemma, Anna Helene Feulner's study of Greek loanwords in OE points out that erring by including more items is desirable when compiling a catalogue, as she does; for my purposes, it is safer to err on the side of caution (*Die griechischen Lehnwörter im Altenglischen,* Texte und Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie 21 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 43–44).
[116] Hubert Gburek, *Der Wortschatz Des Robert Mannyng of Brunne in Handlyng Synne* (Bamberg: M. Schadel, 1977).
[117] Durkin, *Borrowed Words*, p. 255.

meaning or spelling of an existing word occurred in later ME. These cases were readily recognisable by the tentative nature of the comments, such as '?Also cp. OF *piquier*' in the entry for **picchen** 'to thrust'. Words excluded from the *LB* data set in this way are detailed in 2.2.

1.5.2.1 The Role of Latin

Establishing the path by which words came into English becomes particularly problematic, however, when there are possible source words in both Latin and French.[118] In many cases the existence of the form in more than one language will have reinforced its use for multilingual speakers and writers. If the distinction between ME and AF could, for bilinguals, be unclear at times, then that between OF and Latin would be even less clear for those who knew both, given that these languages are more closely related, and also given the learned forms that had been or were being reintroduced in French from Latin by the thirteenth century.

In examining the role of Latin, we can distinguish between words that were a) already present in OE, from Latin, but were also influenced by the OF word, and b) entered the English language in the ME period with possible sources in both Latin and OF. In the second category, there are words 1) that seem from their most common spellings to have had the OF term as primary source, 2) that seem based on attestations or spellings to have had the Latin form as primary source and 3) for which it is impossible to tell which form had the stronger influence on the adoption or form of the English.

In a relatively straightforward example of a), **processioun** 'procession', used with the normal AF spelling *processiun* in both versions of *LB*, must have gained the <*ou*> or <*u*> in its ending from French, though the word itself must have been known from Latin for those familiar with both languages.[119] Tellingly, the earliest attestations, in OE, are clearly modelled on the Latin form and some of these spellings are found later as well, in ME, by which time however spellings related to the French form dominate. The form was thus derived from Latin first and was later reinforced by French. Which language a speaker of ME associated it with most probably varied and depended on the extent of

[118] See Durkin, *Borrowed Words*, pp. 236–53.
[119] The AF spelling reflects an insular pronunciation of [un] versus the continental spelling *procession* and pronunciation [õn]. The *OED3* similarly concludes the word is of mixed origins. Cf. the same conclusion in Durkin, *Borrowed Words*, p. 246.

their language skills, though the religious association of the term may have swayed the balance in favour of Latin. Even in French we are dealing with a learned term.

A critical issue with such words attested in OE is whether or not the ME attestations derive in an unbroken line from the earlier ones.[120] A single use in OE may indicate continued usage, the result of gaps in our records, but could also be an isolated instance. For example, **canoun** (n 2, 'clergyman') is first attested in the *MED* in 1177 as a byname and next in *LB* (spelled *canunes* and *canones*), only followed by other texts after 1300. Its use as a byname was continuous, though in itself this is suspect as evidence for English usage, since the often documentary context in which bynames are recorded makes it likely that French or Latin forms were introduced by scribes working in the Latin or French matrix language of their documents.[121] Consequently, the *MED* includes these attestations within square brackets to indicate a non-English context and their status as English is often dubious. For **canoun** (n 2), however, there is another indication of the early and continuous familiarity of the term in the existence of an OE **canon**, from Latin. The main senses of this word related to canon law, but there are two attested uses in the sense 'cleric'. This earlier use is not noted in either the *OED* or *MED* entry for that sense (n 2), while the OE term is referenced in the separate entry for **canoun**/**canon** (n 1, 'canon law'), even though the earliest attestation in the *MED* for **canoun** (n 1) is well into the fourteenth century.[122] When we reconsider the history of the sense 'clergyman', then, the OE uses combined with the attested bynames suggest strongly that the word would have been familiar early on. It is also hard to deny the influence of the Latin etymon. The actual form in ME may have taken after both Latin and French: spellings in the *MED* quotations are roughly even for <*canon*> and <*canoun*>.

Where there is an early form derived from Latin but the later ME forms have not been remodelled according to the French equivalent (if that form is distinct from the Latin), it is possible to conclude that the stronger influence came from Latin, although

[120] Cf. Durkin, *Borrowed Words*, pp. 251–53.
[121] Durkin, *Borrowed Words*, p. 278. On the term 'matrix language', see e.g. Tony Hunt, 'Code-switching in Medical Texts,' in *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain*, ed. by David Trotter (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000), pp. 141–48, and David Trotter, 'Oceano Vox: You Never Know Where a Ship Comes From: On Multilingualism and Language-Mixing in Medieval Britain', in *Aspects of Multilingualism in European Language History*, ed. by Kurt Braunmüller and Gisella Ferraresi (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2003), pp. 15–33, or 'Death, taxes and property'.
[122] The stencil indicates a dating of a1400(a1325), that is to say the text, *Cursor Mundi*, is dated to 1325 while the manuscript, Cotton Vespasian A.3, is dated to 1400.

the use of the French term will have contributed to the familiarity of the word (b2). For example, most of the *MED* quotations for **comete** 'a comet' indicate some aspect of foreignness in the term. Several mention that it is called thus, with the Caligula *Brut* and Mannyng's *Story of England* commenting *a latyn* and *in astronomye* respectively. Other quotations clearly suggest a Latin construction or its translation, e.g. *stella cometa/comata/comate*, *comete sterre*. OF forms cannot be distinguished in spelling. The *AND* gives two quotations, from Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis* (1139) and from a chronicle of c1343, where again the use may suggest the term is unfamiliar or considered technical: 'une esteile q'est apellé comete'.[123] The word is often used, then, in a way indicating it is not considered a standard word. This seems odd given the word's attested use in OE chronicles (c. 35 counts in the *DOE*, **comēta**), a fact that makes it hard to believe that in learned circles at least the word was not familiar in the ME period. It is best considered a technical term, associated with Latin, and used in ME, as in OE, in forms more like Latin than French.[124]

However tenuous the above conclusions, for many terms it is entirely impossible to tell which form had the stronger influence on the adoption or form of the English, to the point that even tentative suggestions are unsound (b3). A word like **astronomie** 'astronomy' may be derived from Latin, as it is in the *MED* etymological note, or from Latin via OF (cf. *OED* etymological note). None of the forms in ME as recorded in the *MED* end in <-*ia*> or <-*ya*>, which would identify a stronger Latin influence; most are identical to the OF form and end in <-*ie*> or <-*ye*>. This ending could also be the normal outcome of the adoption of the word from Latin **astronomia**, though, as the ending was weakened or simplified, or modelled on existing words adopted from French. The French form itself is a learned borrowing.[125] Other than that *astronomie* as a learned term might be more closely associated with Latin than OF, it is not possible to say which language would have played the stronger role in its adoption. An examination of the attestations in OF, AF and Latin is unlikely to be revealing. This example also reminds us that within medieval French there is already a 'complex layering' of

[123] The line in Gaimar is not glossed, which indicates that understanding of the term was expected for at least some readers. The other quotation is given in the *AND* from *Chroniques de London depuis l'an 44 Henry III jusqu'à l'an 17 Edward III*, ed. by G. J. Aungier, Camden Society 28 (London: Camden Society, 1844).
[124] Durkin's analysis of the word mentions a number of OE uses with Latin case endings next to those with OE endings (*Borrowed Words*, p. 127). On this issue, see also the detailed discussion in Feulner, pp. 35–44.
[125] Durkin, *Borrowed Words*, pp. 237–38.

etymologies, as words have been reborrowed from Latin, or remodelled on the (supposed) Latin etymon, all of which feeds into the layering in English.[126]

This category (b3) concerns a significant part of the ME vocabulary of possible French origin. Durkin concludes that 'in very many cases, we cannot say with complete confidence that a word is from French rather than Latin, or vice versa, and in most of these cases composite origin from both languages seems the likeliest scenario'. In such cases, 'there is nothing in its form to rule out either origin, and the range of senses is similar in each language'. Importantly, word endings are unreliable indicators of origin, since 'the patterns of morphological adaptation of the endings of Latin words in Middle English were largely determined by the shape that the same endings had in French', also influencing 'the adaptation of subsequent Latin borrowings'.[127]

Consequently, a word can usually only be classified as French-derived in two cases: if the word does not exist in Latin, or if the form in English indicates borrowing from French. For the first, though, 'forms are frequently found in post-classical Latin that appear to have been borrowed from French and these sometimes cannot be eliminated entirely from consideration as etymons of the English word' (discussed further below).[128] For the second, 'an English word can be shown by its form to reflect borrowing from French rather than Latin, because the French word, although originally inherited or borrowed from Latin, has undergone significant change in word form in French that is also reflected by the English borrowing'.[129]

Developed at the start of this study, my method in large part corresponds to that suggested by Durkin in his 2014 monograph, some aspects of which I used to determine my final data set. Words have been classified as French-derived if there is no corresponding Latin word or if the French form is recognisably different from the Latin, and the ME follows the French. In this, word endings are not deemed sufficient indication of formal difference, because Latin loanwords were often modelled on the pattern established by French-derived. For example, Latin verbs in *-ficare* were borrowed into English with an ending *-fy*, based on OF *-fier*, even when taken directly from Latin in later ME. Other English endings modelled on the pattern initially

[126] *Ibid*.
[127] *Ibid*.
[128] Post-classical Latin refers to those words which cannot be classified as exclusively Vulgate or Church Latin (Durkin, *Borrowed Words*, p. 150).
[129] *Ibid*, p. 240.

established by French loans include *-y* (from Latin *-ia*, French *-ie*), *-ty*, *-ble*, *-ance*, and *-ence*.[130]

Where one exists, the role of a post-classical Latin form derived from French cannot be eliminated, but this has been treated as insufficient reason to assume a main source in Latin; this admittedly is a relative weakness in the criteria. It concerns only a few words in the *LB* data set and approximately 7% of the *HS* data. It was allowed, moreover, since without detailed study (see note on the *OED3* below) it is not possible to establish from entries in e.g. the *DMLBS* whether forms represent a one-off loan from French (or indeed English) or show a word established in Latin. The user guide to the *DMLBS* comments:

> For an item apparently from a vernacular source it is not uncommon for there to be a lack of an attested direct vernacular counterpart or to antedate the earliest vernacular evidence; in such cases, an indication is given of vernacular forms that might be compared (*cf.*). That said, there is more generally uncertainty about the relationship between source and borrowing even for entries where the vernacular counterpart is attested before the Latin form, and Dictionary users should be aware of this.[131]

In most such cases in my data set for which an *OED3* entry is available, the entry concludes the borrowing is from French (see e.g. **accorden**, **acoupen**, and **affrai** in Appendix 6).

My selection process consisted of the following steps. For all words, I checked both the *MED* and *OED* etymologies. If either ascribed a direct role to Latin, the word was excluded. If the *MED* etymology stated an origin in 'OF&L', the word was excluded. Note that words with comments of the type 'cp. L [...]' did not lead to immediate exclusion. Next, if the *OED* concluded on a direct role for Latin, the word was excluded. If the *OED* entry did not offer a firm conclusion or pointed mainly to French, I considered whether the stem of the word showed sufficient deviation from the Latin word to suppose no direct influence for it. Where the Latin form was similar enough to form a possible direct influence on the ME word, the word was excluded.[132] Often, this

[130] *Ibid*, pp. 237–40.
[131] *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources. A Guide for Users* <http://www.dmlbs.ox.ac.uk/publications/a-guide-for-users> [accessed 1 December 2016].
[132] In a similar study, the *MED* was followed if it indicated only OF as etymology and the *OED* was consulted if the *MED* gave 'OF&L' (as it often does). Words of Latin origin in OE but French origin in ME were identified based on spelling, acknowledged to be a problematic factor and used as last resort (Janne Skaffari, *Studies in Early Middle English Loanwords: Norse and French Influences* (Turku: University of Turku, 2009), pp. 109–10).

step also involved checking the *DMLBS*.[133] This was accessed using *Logeion*, which also includes results from Du Cange, which is therefore occasionally referenced in the footnotes to Appendices 6 and 8.[134]

It would be highly relevant to assess also the relative importance of these Latin forms, as is done in the third edition of the *OED*, which includes thoroughly researched revised etymologies.[135] Next to the formal criteria already discussed, these are based on detailed study of the range of senses in the different languages concerned and the chronology of various senses and forms. The etymologies given in *OED3* entries would therefore be reliable enough to act as main source or determiner for the inclusion of a word as of definite French origin. Unfortunately, the parts of the alphabet for which I compiled an overview of attestations correspond exactly to the parts not yet (fully) covered by *OED3*.[136] The amount of work involved in tracing the range of senses and chronologies of words has precluded a similarly exhaustive etymological analysis. Inclusion of these criteria remains a desideratum, likely to be met by the remainder of *OED3*. Occasionally, I have been able to make use of revised etymologies, as for **disonouren** and **dishonour**, by comparing the *OED3* entries for **honour** (noun and verb), and these are referenced in the footnotes. For the first part of the letter A, the only overlapping section, all words were checked against the *OED3* entries. In a few cases, these concluded the ME word derives only from OF or AF while the *MED* entry suggested a possible Latin origin. I then followed the *OED3*.

Having set to work with these criteria, some cases were harder to decide on than others, and the challenge was to remain consistent. In the first place, the modelling of words adopted from Latin on patterns established earlier by French-derived words, mentioned by Durkin, could apply to other affixes, too. Determining whether or not such a pattern affected Latin loans for a specific suffix is complex. The situation is further complicated by the ME process of the reduction and loss of unstressed vowels,

[133] On the need to consult the *DMLBS* to check the existence of thinly latinised French words, see David Trotter, 'The Anglo-French lexis of *Ancrene Wisse*,' in *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse*, ed. by Yoko Wada (Cambridge: Brewer, 2003), pp. 83–102 (p. 89).
[134] *Logeion* project accessed at <http://logeion.uchicago.edu> in September–December 2016.
[135] See Durkin, *Borrowed Words*, pp. 254–80 and *passim*.
[136] After the initial revision of part of the letter A and the section M–R, the third edition is proceeding with a selection of words from across the alphabet, chosen each quarter. My selection covers the ranges A–F and S–W. From now on until completion of *OED3* (a distant prospect), then, work on any part of the alphabet except for M–R will involve both revised and unrevised entries, whatever one's selection.

while language contact also generally favours morphological simplification.[137] Determining the origin based on word endings is thus a suspect method. But what of such a clear formal distinction between Latin *-ator* and OF *-our*? The discussion in the *OED3* etymology for *-or* (suffix), under heading (ii b), mentions the creation of OF agent nouns on the pattern derived from Latin, but does not show Latin nouns adopted on the OF pattern. However, *-our* (suffix), also an *OED3* entry, is confidently stated as of OF origin only, with the note that many ME agent nouns of this type were remodelled in early Modern English as *-or*. For their ME use, if spellings exclusively follow the OF form until the fifteenth century, a dominant OF origin may be thus supposed with some confidence, and these words have been included. In a different example, Durkin comments that ML words in *-agium* derived from OF *-age*, formed on *-aticum*. 'In very many cases, it is uncertain whether the borrowings into English are from (Anglo-)French words in *-age* or from Latin words in *-agium*, and it is likely that many words had multiple inputs.'[138] Since the Latin forms were secondary to the OF forms, I have treated such words as of OF origin, despite the potential or probable role of the ML forms. This only concerned a small number of words (**hostage** (n 1) 'hostage' in *LB*; **avauntage** 'advantage', **taillage** 'tallage, tax', and **visage** 'face' in *HS*).

Durkin does not comment on prefixes, though he assigns an OF origin to words starting in *a-* rather than *ad-* with some confidence.[139] In parallel to this, I decided to include words spelled exclusively in *en-* (at least until the fifteenth century, when spellings were often remodelled on Latin) as French-derived. This could be due to nothing more than that up to the fifteenth century scribes were used to writing *en-* in ME, while considering it evident that the word was also Latin. However, not all words of this type are spelled exclusively in the French form before the fifteenth century, so that some different degrees of influence may be distinguished. Marchand gives OF as sole origin for *en-*, *em-*, but comments that 'Latin had all the types English inherited from French, and it is practically impossible to tell whether in this or that word the prefix is Latin or native *in-*', so that '[s]emantically there is but one prefix, in which the

[137] Discussed, although in the context of contact between ON and OE, in Donka Minkova, *A Historical Phonology of English, Edinburgh Textbooks on the English Language — Advanced* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2014), p. 228.
[138] Durkin, *Borrowed Words*, p. 328. For a similar but more detailed account see Hans Marchand, *The Categories and Types of Present-Day English Word-Formation* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1960), pp. 179–81. Marchand's comments on *-or*, *-our* are too brief to be of help for those cases (pp. 221–22).
[139] Durkin, *Borrowed Words*, p. 327.

three different elements are combined, though in one or the other case this or that element is felt to be predominant'.[140] The possibility that multilingual speakers and scribes accustomed to using forms in *en-* in ME would thus introduce a word they well knew in Latin, too, cannot be excluded. Some variability existed in ME and AF prefixes, further highlighting the difficulty of considering these forms of definite French origin.[141]

Greater stability is usual for stem vowels and consonants and it is from the stem that we check the similarity of the ME form to the Latin and OF forms. Occasionally, these too raise questions and it is necessary to consider the phonological development of the Latin, OF and ME forms. For example, a common confusion in medieval spelling was the interchangeable use of <*u*> and <*o*>, so that ME forms *trompe* cannot be said with certainty to derive from OF *trompe* only.[142] In that case, however, because the ML form appears to be based on OF, the ME word has been included in my primary data set. Throughout, my concern is with the word's overall use in ME up to *c.* 1400, rather than individual uses in *HS*. Thus Hans Käsmann's argument that spellings of *angel* in <*au*> can with certainty be ascribed to French influence is not relevant, unless such spellings are the only form found before 1400.[143] The loss of a syllable, as in OF and ME *heritage* versus Latin *hereditagium*, is a clear sign of a dominant role for the French form, but the relation would have been evident to those versed in all three languages, so that some reinforcement from the Latin must be considered probable.

But to what extent would OF *estorer*, ME *(a)storen* have been similar to Late Latin *staurare* (from earlier *instaurare*)? If ME adopted that Latin word directly, (how) would it modify the stem vowel? Can that hypothetical result be distinguished from the OF form? The phonological development of late Latin further complicates matters, as the *OED* comments (in the entry for the verb **pose**) that classical Latin *au* could at times

[140] *English Word-Formation*, p. 115.
[141] Glynn Hesketh comments that the prefixes of neologisms in the AF *Lumere as Lais* show alternation between *a-/en-*, which in AF were 'no longer felt to add anything to the sense of the simplex' ('Lexical innovation in the *Lumere as Lais*,' in *De mot en mot: Aspects of medieval linguistics. Essays in honour of William Rothwell*, ed. by Stewart Gregory and D.A. Trotter (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), pp 53–80 (p. 71, fn. 8).
[142] See Greti Dinkova-Bruun, 'Medieval Latin,' in *A Companion to Latin*, ed. by James Clackson (Chichester: Blackwell, 2011), pp. 284–302 (pp. 294–95).
[143] Hans Käsmann, *Studien zum kirchlichen Wortschatzes Mittelenglischen, 1100–1350. Ein Beitragzum Problem der Sprachmischung* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1961), p. 81.

monophthongise to a long *o*.[144] Although this can only have happened rather late in French, Latin forms indistinguishable from the French type may have been around (though none are attested in the *DMLBS*). As to forms in <*au*>, it is mainly from the fifteenth century that 'numerous Latin words containing *au* were borrowed into English' in that spelling, such as **auction** and **audible**.[145]

That was in a time that saw Latin influence on spelling, even to the point of remodelling earlier borrowings. If words are attested in Latinate spellings from the fifteenth century only, and earlier attestations all follow the French model, then such remodelling has been assumed. The origin is likely to have been only French, with the Latin a later, learned influence. For example, Durkin discusses for *perfect* how 'from the fourteenth century forms such as *perfit, parfit* are found (among many others), indicating that the initial borrowing was from (Anglo-)French *perfit, parfit*', while the 'Latinate type *perfect* is found only from the middle of the fifteenth century, but predominates by the end of the sixteenth'.[146]

Despite the caution taken and adherence to the principles set out here, it is probable that other scholars would arrive at a different selection, with different conclusions on the relative roles of French and Latin for individual words. Indeed, there is probably truth in the quotation, noted in Janne Skaffari's similar study, that 'no two philologists would agree upon the same words as admissible'.[147] For this reason, I follow Feulner in adding appendices of rejected words, so that others can draw their own conclusions.[148] The footnotes to the appendices detail the origins of problematic words and explain my inclusion or exclusion of the word from the primary data set.

1.5.2.2 Continental and Insular French

The majority of French-derived words that entered ME, especially early in the period, did so because of the intensive interactions between these two languages, and because

[144] For details, the *OED* entry refers to W.S. Allen, *Vox Latina: A Guide to the Pronunciation of Classical Latin*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: CUP, 1978).
[145] Christopher Upward and George Davidson, *The History of English Spelling* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011).
[146] Durkin, *Borrowed Words*, p. 326.
[147] Stephen H. Bush, 'Old Northern French Loanwords in Middle English,' *Philological Quarterly* 1.3 (Jan. 1922), 161–72 (p. 171), quoted in Skaffari, *Studies*, p. 119.
[148] Feulner, pp. 43–44. See Appendix 2 for *LB* and Appendix 8 for *HS*. For *KA*, the strikingly French nature of part of its vocabulary made it possible to arrive at a selection of words among which very few could have derived from Latin, particularly since only rare French-derived words were analysed rather than the text's full French-derived vocabulary (see 3.1.3).

of the long-term high-level bilingualism of an elite as well as the long-term pragmatic bilingualism of a slightly broader professional group (see 1.2). Consequently, if a ME word is of insular French origin, even if it is infrequently attested in ME, it may have been more familiar than the record suggests, and certainly will have been so for that bilingual part of the population. By contrast, if a word is not found in insular French, then it is much more likely to have been a strikingly foreign element in the ME text in which it occurs.

However, insular as opposed to continental French as origin for ME words is as difficult to delineate as Latin and French (see 1.4.1.1). Firstly, from a strictly methodological perspective, the records for insular French cannot be deemed complete for the same reasons that the *MED* and *OED* cannot, so that forms not attested in insular texts or, for my practical purposes, recorded in the *AND* and other dictionaries citing insular sources may in fact have been used in insular French. Next, it is important to remember that insular French was not wholly isolated from continental French, with authors, readers, texts and manuscripts crossing the channel throughout the period, though at some times more intensively than others, and between varying regions of France, which after all was in many ways not a single unit. Indeed, when should an author or text be considered insular — only if the author was born there, or also if the text was written there? What then of insular authors working on the continent?[149]

Keeping in mind these limitations, I have considered a word to be of insular origin if it is included in the *AND* (either as lemma or in quotations, accessed through the concordance function) or, failing that, if a text by an insular author is referenced in the entry for the word in the French dictionaries listed in section 1 of the bibliography. Closely related forms have also been considered. If none of these sources indicated an insular connection, I have considered the word to be of probable continental origin.

[149] Ian Short, 'Language and literature,' in *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill and Elisabeth van Houts (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), pp. 191–214, (p. 206). Cf. the chapters by Möhren, Roques and Trotter in *De mot en mot: Aspects of medieval linguistics. Essays in honour of William Rothwell*, ed. by Stewart Gregory and D.A. Trotter (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997). Durkin outlines 'state-of-the-art' ways of distinguishing AF and CF using cross-reference the *OED3* and *AND2* and concludes that ME borrowing 'was largely from AF rather than continental French up until about 1375' (*Borrowed Words*, p. 280).

1.5.3 Studying Lexical Influence through Dictionary Attestations

The previous section has detailed my procedure in selecting data, with items of possible direct Latin provenance excluded. This section presents the method of analysis, beginning with theoretical considerations and ending with a practical introduction to the material. Details on how I approached specific texts can be found in chapter 2.2, 3.3.1 and 4.2. For *LB* and *HS*, this was done in the form of tables of attestations (Appendix 3 and 7). For *KA*, because only rare French-derived vocabulary was analysed (see 3.1.3), full tables of attestations in ME would add few insights, and information from the *MED* entries including attestations was summarised in Appendix 5 along with information from other dictionaries to create a fuller account of these words' histories in English and French.

The first thing to note is that I have opted for a qualitative analysis, since the questions I am seeking to answer require qualitative judgements: it does not just matter what words were used when or in what texts, for that gives only a partial answer to the question of how integrated they were. To establish the degree of assimilation into ME, it is necessary to look more closely at *how* the words are used in context. Hence, a qualitative analysis is called for. This was done by using the dated quotations in *MED* entries to note the attestations of the words in each data set, supplemented with searches of the *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* (*LAEME*) and the *OED* as relevant.

There are several limitations in the quality of the data that must be noted first. Firstly, dictionary attestations provide an incomplete linguistic record. The *MED* is based only on published, edited texts and therefore may contain emendations and expanded abbreviations. Moreover, it is not based on all surviving ME texts, whether or not published; although seeking to provide quotations that give an accurate impression of a word's usage, it is not exhaustive in this. Elsweiler found that 'the relevant *MED* entries do not always give an idea of the real extension of a lexeme' (in the context of her work, among ME romances) and some entries may give an impression of rarity when a word was commonly used.[150]

Secondly, much or most of what was written in ME never survived for present-day dictionary editors to use, whether because a manuscript fell apart after long use, was discarded or recycled when no longer deemed useful, or because it was destroyed by

[150] Christine Elsweiler, *Laȝamon's 'Brut' Between Old English Heroic Poetry and Middle English Romance*, Münchener Universitätsschriften 35 (Frankfurt: Lang, 2011), pp. 257–58.

accident or design.[151] What does survive is not spread evenly across the period; a lack of attestations in a period with few texts or manuscripts surviving is less telling than an absence of attestations in a period with a broader range of texts available to us.[152] Thus a comparison of the number of attestations for different periods would need to consider the amount of surviving linguistic material from those periods. Thirdly, with only written sources remaining, attestations from spoken language have not survived and it seems likely that these would normally antedate written attestations. If a word is not attested in the *MED* for a specific period this cannot be taken to indicate that the word was not used in speech, or even in writing, in that period. It may be that the word was not commonly or widely used, though. In addition, the dates assigned to both texts and manuscripts have a degree of uncertainty. For a majority of texts, the date we give to the creation of the manuscript is only very rarely precise; the date of composition of texts is even less sure and usually remains an estimate.

An additional point is that although useful digital corpora of ME texts exist their coverage is still limited, especially for earlier ME, so that the outcomes of quantitative studies based on them face the same limitations. The data for a comparison with AF usage have to be drawn from the *AND*, which warns that:

> Both the citations concordancer and the proximity searching features are deliberately based on tools familiar to corpus linguists [...]. However, it is important to realise that the data on which they draw is not a corpus in any sense that could yield statistically valid results.[153]

---

[151] This is the subject of R. M. Wilson, *The Lost Literature of Medieval England*, 2nd edn (London: Methuen & Co., 1970). An overview of texts we know to have existed is given in R. W. Chambers, 'The Lost Literature of Medieval England,' *Library*, n.s. 5 (1925), 293–321.

[152] Durkin discusses a similar criticism of the sources used by *OED* editors, though for later periods in the history of English. Graphs showing the relative number of loanwords per subperiod would reflect differences in the number of sources consulted by the editors, rather than an accurate linguistic analysis. A comparison with the number of sources available, however, revealed that the sampling done by the editors was reliable, and that pattern of the relative numbers of loanwords accurately reflects the data available (*Borrowed Words*, pp. 131–34).

[153] This text was part of an earlier version of the *AND* user guide, under the heading 'Ceci n'est pas un corpus! A statistical caveat', and is no longer available at <http//www.anglo-norman.net/>. My thanks to Heather Pagan for recovering the full passage (personal communication). Next to the comment quoted above this includes the following explanation:

> Quite apart from the highly selective process of lexicographical gleaning that has produced the citations data, which often entails leaving out words or phrases not germane to the attested sense, whose omission is marked only by a standard ellipsis symbol giving no information about what or how much has been elided, it also frequently happens that the same source is used to attest more than one lexical item and consequently the same passage is cited in several entries (albeit with occasionally different elisions). Hence the number of 'hits' reported represents only the raw count of forms found across all the citations, with no regard to any multiple instances of one and the same passage, and no way of detecting where and to what degree such multiple instances have influenced the counts.

Skaffari also comments that, for a single text, a qualitative analysis is to be preferred, given the low number of tokens per word.[154] Naturally, these shortcomings in the available information are also problematic for a qualitative analysis.

At the outset it must therefore be made clear that this analysis cannot produce definitive results, and the above limitations must be kept in mind in all that follows. I hope to show, however, that some interpretations of the data are more likely than others, especially when those interpretations correspond to non-linguistic textual and contextual information. We must assume that the recorded attestations for a single word are incomplete, but a large set of words showing a similar pattern of attestations gives an account that is accurate in its main line, if not in each detail. Compiling such a set and analysing the emergent pattern is the method that will be used here.

Because of the nature of the data no attempt was made to represent relative frequencies of attestations. This would create an illusion of detailed accuracy. Some highly common terms would have stood out, but for others an illusion of rarity would be maintained (see 2.2). Instead, using a binary system (1 = attested, 0 = unattested), the existence of attestations per fifty-year period was recorded for *LB* and *HS*. The period 1100–1199 is treated as one because of the very low number of surviving sources for the first half of the twelfth century. Between 1300 and 1350 a division into shorter periods might have been interesting, as it is during this period that many words are first attested. However, this would again assume a level of precision in the information that does not appear justified. In the discussion, conclusions are occasionally given about how common words seem to have been; such comments are based on more detailed study of the *MED* attestations and (for *HS*) the word count given in Gburek, supplemented by studies such as those by Skaffari and Durkin.

An attestation is assigned to a period based on the *MED* stencil as given in the entry. For example, the stencil ‘c1300’ for a *South English Legendary* text in Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 108 is assigned to the period 1300–1349. Where an earlier text appears in a later manuscript, the *MED* gives the date of the manuscript followed by the date of the text in brackets, e.g. ‘a1325(c1280)’ for Cambridge, Magdalene

---

Compare also the comments in David Trotter, ‘Bytes, Words, Texts: The *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* and its Text-Base,’ *Digital Medievalist* 7 (2011).

[154] Skaffari, *Studies*, pp. 99–105.

College, MS Pepys 2344, also containing a text of the *South English Legendary*.[155] In these cases, I have used the date of the manuscript rather than the text, without examining for each attestation whether or not it probably occurred in the earlier text or represents a later variation.

1.5.4 How to Tell if a Word is English

With the attestations gathered, as described in the previous section, how are they to be interpreted? The aim of my analysis is to determine the linguistic status of French-derived words, i.e. the extent to which they had become integrated in English. More specifically, were they so at the moment that they were used in each of the manuscript versions of *LB*, *KA* and *HS* that is available for us to study? As Durkin points out, 'the complexities of the language situation in medieval England place considerable strain on the notion of lexical borrowing as a once-and-for-all process', since

> many of these word histories are highly suggestive of multiple inputs, in some cases from (Anglo-)French and in others from Latin, sometimes in literary contexts and sometimes in spoken ones, sometimes in the context of learned religious or secular discourse, sometimes in more practical contexts of record-keeping or conducting legal or other official business.[156]

At the same time, the use of a French-derived word need not entail the actual adoption of that word into English beyond that single use.

The problem of determining whether a word is French or English can be formulated as the attempted distinction between code-switching and borrowing. One-word code-switches are only distinguishable from borrowings if we have access to a speaker's judgement of the status of the word. In historical linguistics, we are dependent on the sources for indications of a word's status in the language at that time. Code-switched words, unlike borrowings, tend to occur mainly in the context of the original language; they are dependent on that language and, if the multilingual situation changes and the context disappears, they will fall out of use along with their original language.[157]

If a word is attested in at least one text in each fifty-year period from 1200, then the implication is that by 1300 it was probably well integrated in ME. If, however, there is a large gap between the first recorded use and the next, the question is whether the first

[155] In these dates, 'a' before the year refers to the specific date of a manuscript or composition, preceded by a question mark where this is uncertain, while 'c' indicates a conjectural or approximate date.
[156] Durkin, *Borrowed Words*, p. 250. Cf. 2.3.
[157] Trotter, 'Oceano Vox,' p. 27; Durkin, *Guide to Etymology*, pp. 173–77.

appearance can then be considered to belong to English, or should be seen as 'an artificial introduction of a foreign element rather than a genuine and absorbed borrowing'.[158] Because of the limitations of the data, I assign greater value to positive evidence, the fact that words are attested in a period, than to the absence of attestations. Nevertheless, if a word is not attested for a long period in which there are relatively many surviving texts in which the word might be expected to occur, then there is at least the plausibility of its non-occurrence in that period. In that case, its use in the second text may be a novelty and not represent a long-established word. Its first introduction would then not have led to absorption and its use in the later text would be a new borrowing rather than represent a long-established word.

Alternatively, the use of synonyms in a period in which a term is not attested again relies on attestations as positive evidence: where synonyms were used at least we know that the concept was being referred to in a certain period, and the synonym was either preferred over the word we are tracing or used because that word was not available to that author or adapter. The *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* can be used to identify synonyms, as can a search of the *MED* limited to definitions.

Similarly, attestations of related forms may be used as indirect positive evidence. For example, **accorden** 'to accord' (found in *HS* and *KA*) is attested later than **accord** (n). The earlier record for the noun does not so much tell us that **accorden** was used earlier, too (though it may well have been), but it indicates that the verb would have been easily recognised by those not yet using the word in ME, and adopted into their language. Such related forms include morphological families which differ in word class or pre- or suffixes (e.g. **strife**, **striven** and **strivinge** in *LB*) but also aphetic forms.

The points of analysis described so far rely on attestations alone and concern the general integration of a word in ME, i.e. they say something about word types. The context in which specific uses of words (i.e. tokens) occur may also be analysed for signs of markedness, what Dor calls alien features. These include direct mention, the inclusion of a synonym directly explaining the word, tautological compounds or phrases, and contextual tautologies.[159] The presence of a (near) synonym that elucidates

[158] Juliette Dor, 'Post-dating Romance loan-words in Middle English: Are the French words of the *Katherine Group* English?', in *History of Englishes: New Methods and Interpretations in Historical Linguistics*, ed. by Matti Rissanen and others (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), pp. 483–505 (p. 485).
[159] Dor, 'Post-dating'. For a similar approach, see Cannon, *Making of Chaucer's English*. Similar signs are mentioned in Anneli Meurman-Solin, 'Variation analysis and diachronic studies of lexical borrowing,' in *Proceedings from the Fourth Nordic Conference for English Studies*, ed. by G. Caie and

the meaning of the foreign element is only a potential sign of foreign quality, however, since its inclusion may also be due to the demands of versification. More generally, Norman Blake has argued that connotations for words were not as well established in OE and ME so that synonyms were provided to help pin down the meaning.[160] This may be the case in *KA*, line 5112, where French-derived *doel* accompanies the native form *mornyng*, both signifying grief. *Doel*, however, must be considered well integrated by 1300, given the number and date of its attestations in the *MED*.

If an author feels the need to explain a term, then it may be assumed that he did not expect at least part of his intended audience to know the word. An even clearer indication of a code-switch is the direct mention of this fact by the author, as when Mannyng tells us that **sacrilege** is French (8597).[161]

Another indication of markedness discussed by Meurman-Solin is the occurrence of words in restricted metrical or alliterative contexts, as stereotypical syntactic constructions.[162] This implies that the word has not spread into more general use, and runs the risk of falling out of use when the context to which it is limited changes. For example, French-derived prepositions occur with some regularity in ME, especially in romances, but almost exclusively in rhyme tags like *par ma fay* (see 3.2). Some of these occur mainly in rhyming position, reminding us of the influence of the demands of versification in lexical choices. For this reason, the introductions to chapters 2, 3 and 4 note the verse form of both text and source.

A final tool for analysing the degree of integration in ME concerns a comparison to the source text, in the case of translations like *LB*, *KA* and *HS*, although the relationship between source and translation is complex (see 1.3). If a word is hardly attested in any other text in ME, then the presence in the source may explain its use in this one ME text. Especially for forms that were rare in ME, therefore, my analysis considered

---

others (Copenhagen: Department of English, University of Copenhagen, 1990), pp. 87–98. For the application of Meurman-Solin's criteria to an early ME text, see Janne Skaffari, 'Lexical borrowings in early ME religious discourse,' in *Discourse perspectives on English*, ed. by Risto Hiltunen and Janne Skaffari (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2003), pp. 77–104. Cf. the discussion of various criteria and their usefulness in Feulner, pp. 36–44.

[160] Janet Bately, 'On Some aspects of the Vocabulary of the West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages: The Language of the Katherine Group', in *Medieval English Studies Presented to George Kane*, ed. by Joseph S. Wittig (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1988), pp. 55–77; Norman F. Blake, *The English Language in Medieval Literature* (London: Dent, 1977).

[161] For other instances in *HS*, see 4.6.2 and 5.5. Cf. *KA*, lines 6361 and 6433 and *LB*, line 1622. See 1.2 on the interesting case of mislabelled words.

[162] Meurman-Solin, pp. 95–96.

whether they were present in the source texts. For *KA*, where the data set contained only rare items, this was done for all words.

This chapter has introduced the importance of the range of bilingual language users in medieval England and the multilingual, flexible manuscript culture in which texts like *LB*, *KA* and *HS* were created. This opened up the question of how the great influx of French-derived vocabulary in ME passed into general use. Determining sociocultural implications of French in ME texts was seen to require analysis of the degree of integration of French elements, for which my approach was set out. Once it is known to what extent the French elements in *LB*, *KA* and *HS* were integrated in ME (chapters 2–4), we can not only identify marked forms and their literary or social effects in the texts (multilingualism on the page), but can also consider what linguistic demands the texts place on their audiences and what that implies for the texts' negotiation of identities (chapters 5–6).

Chapter 2: Homely English, Striking French? Audience and Vocabulary in La3amon's *Brut*

2.1 Introduction

La3amon's *Brut* has received much comment for containing lexis and structures that appear reminiscent of Anglo-Saxon, some not used in any other surviving ME text.[1] It has also been considered to show a correspondingly low number of French-derived words, even for the early date (between 1190 and 1216) at which it is thought to have been composed.[2] This is particularly the case in the version, one of two, surviving in London, British Library MS Cotton Caligula A.ix (Caligula). While the other manuscript version, London, British Library MS Cotton Otho C.xiii (Otho), does not contain as much lexis associated with Anglo-Saxon as Caligula does, and displays more French-derived vocabulary, the difference must not be overemphasised. Many of the Anglo-Saxon aspects are present in Otho too, though in diminished numbers. This notable lexis has been related to the supposed aims of the text, particularly for Caligula, which have in turn been linked to larger issues such as the development of an incipient English nationalism. The exploration of such suppositions forms a major part of critical attention to *LB*.[3] This section introduces the text and lays out the ways in which the Englishness of *LB* in its two versions has been approached, with reference to the aims of the text and those of related texts. In section 2.2, the reception of the two versions is considered with an emphasis on French elements, leading to the presentation of my methodology in studying the French-derived vocabulary. That study takes up the rest of the chapter. In the following I treat each version as a text in its own right, in keeping with current approaches to medieval texts, which emphasise the importance of individual manuscript witnesses (see 1.3), as well as in recognition of the value of each version as evident from current scholarship on *LB*.

[1] Christine Elsweiler, *La3amon's 'Brut' Between Old English Heroic Poetry and Middle English Romance*, Münchener Universitätsschriften 35 (Frankfurt: Lang, 2011), p. 22 and *passim*; Jonathan Watson, 'Affective Poetics and Scribal Reperformance in Lawman's *Brut*: A Comparison of the Caligula and Otho Versions,' *Arthuriana* 8.3 (1998), 62–75.
[2] On the date of *LB*, see Françoise Le Saux, *Layamon's 'Brut'*: *The Poem and its Sources*, Arthurian Studies XIX (Cambridge: Brewer, 1989), pp. 1–23; on the relative number of French-derived words, see *ibid*., pp. 59–94, and 2.2 below.
[3] For an overview of the debate on the *Brut*, see the introduction to Rosamund Allen and others, eds, *Reading La3amon's 'Brut'*.

Although *LB* is not the only text for which previous work has identified a relatively low degree of French lexical influence, it is prominent among them, and the issue of Anglo-Saxon versus French-derived lexis is central in discussions of the text in its two versions. The importance of discussions of Englishness in scholarship on *LB*, linked to lexical choices by the author, also heightens the interest of this text for studying sociocultural implications of French in ME in all is complexity, as the distinction English/French does not map easily onto a continued ethnic distinction English/'Normans' (see 1.4.2 and 6.2).

In terms of method *LB* was the most interesting choice because of the existence of several (incomplete) studies of the French-derived vocabulary, which I could combine with good coverage in the *MED* and inclusion of a significant section of the text in *LAEME* (see 2.2). The relatively low number of French-derived words in *LB* also makes it possible to study all of these and consider them in detail. The early date of composition highlights some of the difficulties involved in isolating French lexical influence (see 1.4); however, those difficulties would apply to any text composed in that period.

Before discussing previous scholarship on *LB* and Englishness, a brief note is in order on what is known about the text's audiences. Laʒamon tells us where he wrote, at Areley Kings in Worcestershire, and we have a rough idea of when he wrote, but it is less clear for whom he wrote, or in what context and for whom the Otho and Caligula manuscripts were produced. The question of audience often swiftly turns to ethnic groups; as Bryan summarises, Laʒamon may have written for 'English audiences of Anglo-Saxon heritage, especially in Worcestershire', but the question is 'much debated'.[4] The importance of the regional context of the South-West Midlands has been emphasised, with its thirteenth-century production of manuscripts including vernacular material evidencing the existence of a local audience for such texts. Not only did Laʒamon work in the area, but the language of both Otho and Caligula is South-West Midlands in nature. The networks of production suggested by surviving manuscripts point to a 'monastic-manorial nexus' crossing ecclesiastical and lay audiences.[5]

[4] Elizabeth J. Bryan, 'Laʒamon,' in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. by Graeme Dunphy and Cristian Bratu (Leiden: Brill, 2010); cf. Le Saux, *The Poem and its Sources*, p. 230.
[5] Carol Weinberg '"By a noble church on the bank of the Severn": a Regional View of Laʒamon's *Brut*,' *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 26 (1995), 49–62 (pp. 50–57); John Scahill 'The Audiences of Medieval Chronicles and of Cotton Caligula A.Ix,' *Geibun Kenkyu: Journal of Arts and Letters, Tokyo*, 80 (2001), 142–57 (pp. 152–53).

Together with the magnitude of work involved in copying *LB* especially, this suggests 'patronage or commissioning, for example by lay magnates' (218), while the make-up of Caligula as a whole is seen as compatible with 'the entertainment and instruction of patrons or visitors'. This view of the contexts of *LB* suggests a 'more lettered milieu' than earlier work. It may perhaps be supported by the palaeographical links with royal manuscripts of the thirteenth century, uncovered by Elizabeth Bryan in an article reminding us of the international dimension of book production.[6]

The demands placed on the reader by images, allusions and language use provide an alternative way of looking at the likely composition of a text's audience. Although the text contains many features that would require some literary sophistication to be appreciated, those without literary knowledge could have enjoyed the text too. This has been taken to suggest 'a mixed audience of, say, demesne officials, hall attendants and ladies' maids', varied 'in terms of age, sex and even social class'.[7] An initial audience around Areley Kings would not be impossible, though Worcester would have been well placed, once persuaded by the initial local popularity of a strong text, to play a role in its further dissemination. At Worcester, the interest in Anglo-Saxon literature would provide an audience capable of appreciating more aspects of the text.

In the prologue to each version of *LB*, there are claims as to the text's intentions. In both versions, Laȝamon wishes

> [...] of Engle; þa æðelæn tellen.
> wat heo ihoten weoren; & wonene heo comen.
> þa Englene londe; ærest ahten. (Caligula 7–9)[8]

His purpose is to inform the reader about a specific part of history. In Caligula, there is an additional comment referring to the reader 'þet þeos boc rede; & leornia þeos runan' (31), glossed in Madden's edition as 'learn this counsel'.[9] This suggests a purpose that relates the information about the past to the reader's actions and decisions in the present

[6] Elizabeth J. Bryan, 'Laȝamon's *Brut* and the vernacular text: widening the context,' in Allen, Perry and Roberts, eds, *Reading Laȝamon's 'Brut'*, pp. 661–689.
[7] Rosamund Allen, 'The Implied Audience of Laȝamon's *Brut*,' in Le Saux, ed., *The Text and Tradition of Layamon's 'Brut'*, pp. 121–39 (pp. 129–35); W.J.R. Barron, 'The Idiom and the Audience of Laȝamon's *Brut'*, in *Laȝamon: Contexts, Language, and Interpretation*, ed. by Rosamund Allen and others (London: King's College London, 2002), pp. 157–84.
[8] I quote from Caligula or Otho as relevant. Otho at this point reads 'of Engelond þe ristnesse telle. | wat þe men hi-hote weren; and wan[e]ne hi comen. | þe Englene lond ærest afden'. *Ristnesse* (*MED* **rightnesse** (n), sense 1b 'righteousness; also, nobility, noble deeds') is synonymous to Caligula's *æðelæn*, while *afden* conveys the same meaning as *ahten*.
[9] I, p. 3. In Otho, the line covers the first half of that in Caligula: 'þat þes bok redeþ'.

day, with the past serving as mirror, though without putting it in the direct tradition of the *speculum historiale*.

This suggested purpose is conventional, and like other prologues to medieval texts should not be taken simply at face value (see 4.1.2).Texts may have other aims besides those explicitly stated, which may be harder to identify and provide fertile ground for discussion. For *LB*, this has focused on Laȝamon's representation of history and the implications for an English ethnic or national identity. The use of English, particularly given the Anglo-Saxon aspects to the *Brut*'s language, at a time when AF literature was more prevalent has been read as revealing aims related to the promotion of Englishness.

In writing the history of the various peoples inhabiting Britain through time, Laȝamon has to present several conquests and different ethnic and linguistic groups that were still around in his day.[10] It is a knotty topic and such texts' representation of the different groups must to some extent reveal their author's social or cultural outlook.[11] And Laȝamon does not eschew commentary. *LB* in either version regularly qualifies people or actions by adjectives which express the author's evaluation.[12] Some of these form meaningful patterns. For example, Hengest is continually referred to as *swike* or *for-cuðest*. These formulaic epithets serve to highlight the theme of betrayal, however, rather than commenting on ethnic allegiance.[13] Even if his commentary is linked to moral concerns rather than the issue of identity, however, Laȝamon's emphases have been seen as creating implicit comment on the relationship between Celts, Anglo-Saxons and Normans.

LB is not alone in this. As a genre, medieval histories of Britain have to find a balance in representing the peoples that inhabited Britain before the Norman Conquest. The Roman incursions, the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Celtic Britain, the Viking raids and settlement and the Norman conquest form a series which can be lamented, indicating disapproval, or justified, for example by pointing to the heathen or sinful nature of those who are conquered. The Viking incursions and Norman invasion fall

[10] The narrative is given some distance by ending centuries before the Norman Conquest, but in this it follows its sources, Wace's *Roman de Brut* (see Weiss and Arnold) and, before him, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *The History of the Kings of Britain. An Edition and Translation of the De gestis Britonum [Historia Regum Britanniae]*, ed. by Michael D. Reeve, trans. by Neil Wright (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007).
[11] See e.g. Simon Meecham-Jones, 'Þe Tiden of Þisse Londe — Finding and Losing Wales in Layamon's *Brut*,' in Allen and others, eds, *Reading Laȝamon's 'Brut'*, pp. 69–106.
[12] See *The Poem and its Sources*, pp. 155–57.
[13] See Kelley M. Wickham-Crowley, *Writing the Future: Laȝamon's Prophetic History* (University of Wales Press, 2002), pp. 40–42. On formulaic language in *LB*, see *The Poem and Its Sources*, pp. 44–56.

outside the temporal scope of *LB* and its sources. The Roman presence can, with the justification of distant hindsight, be treated as a temporary matter and merely an intrusion. In *LB*, at least, it is balanced, moreover, by several near-conquests of Rome by British kings.

More tantalising to modern scholarship, the representation in a text of the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons would seem to imply a certain view on the later medieval socio-cultural landscape. For *LB*, the conspicuous Anglo-Saxon vocabulary has led to readings suggesting that it sympathises with Anglo-Saxon culture. Notably, in this respect it deviates from its sources. Both Wace's *Roman de Brut* and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, on which Wace based his translation and which Laʒamon may have used, distinctly favour the Celtic British.[14] Among the various medieval histories of Britain we find varied strategies to approach the relation between contemporary English identity and the history of the Britons. Wace, writing for Henry II, linked Henry to the Celtic king Arthur and skipped the Anglo-Saxons, without explicitly suggesting a sense of Englishness. Similarly, in his *Roman de Rou*, Wace attempts the difficult narrative task of creating sympathy for William the Conqueror, without vilifying Harold beyond redemption, since Henry wished to be a legitimate English king and had Saxon blood. In the end, Wace's failure to complete the task (which was passed to Benoît) has been explained as due to the 'unforeseen political implications of typological writing'. [15] In Geffrei Gaimar's *L'Estoire des Engleis*, however, the enemy at the Battle of Hastings are sometimes named simply 'les Français,' thus illustrating how the language of a text need not, in medieval Britain, reflect in any simple way its political or ethnic affiliations.[16] Moreover, such an association would require distinguishing between ethnic groups that had become very mixed, particularly between those of Anglo-Saxon and French descent.

Each of these representations of history has implications for the creation of collective identity. Given this, it is hard for a history like *LB* not to be open to a specific interpretation of what it meant to be English. Some argue that a central aim of the text is

[14] See also Penny Eley and Philip E. Bennett, 'The Battle of Hastings according to Gaimar, Wace and Benoît: rhetoric and politics,' *Notthingham Medieval Studies* 43 (1999), 47–78. On the term 'Englishness', see 1.4.2.2. On Laʒamon's sources, see *The Poem and Its Sources*, pp. 14–23.
[15] Eley and Bennett, p. 66.
[16] Eley and Bennett, p. 51; Geffrei Gaimar, *Estoire des Engleis (History of the English)*, ed. and trans. by Ian Short (Oxford: OUP, 2009). Gaimar's patrons were of French origin but obviously felt themselves differently.

to posit a view of history that allows for English identity to encompass the country's various ethnic groups.[17]

In spite of the complex relation between language and cultural affiliations, such readings often refer to both the Anglo-Saxon vocabulary and the restricted use of French lexis, though the latter especially has not seen systematic study. This chapter provides a fuller analysis that is used in chapter 6 to evaluate to what extent the use of French elements in *LB* supports a connection between choice of style and the promotion of a sense of Englishness.[18] It must already be noted here that the importance of the regional context in evaluating *LB*, mentioned above, points in a possible different direction. The South-West Midlands were conservative linguistically (though there was little variance in the acceptance of French-derived vocabulary) and saw the study of OE texts as well as early production of ME works. This means that it is possible, at least, that Laȝamon chose a style with Anglo-Saxon features because it was conventional from the perspective of that earlier literature. As such he need not have been motivated in his linguistic choices by the negotiation of larger collective identities (see 1.4.2). The implications of such a historical work may be regional, even if it has a national framework. In turn, grounding a style in a local vernacular tradition does not necessitate the rejection of that which was also available, in this case French literary culture.

2.1.2 The Relation of the Manuscript Versions of Laȝamon's 'Brut'

For *LB*, a central issue in studying the French element is formed by the differences between the two manuscript versions of *LB*, Caligula and Otho, which have been the

[17] For a number of recent studies of this kind, see e.g. the articles by Meecham-Jones, Kirby, Lamont and Allen in Allen and others, eds, *Reading Laȝamon's 'Brut'*.

[18] An alternative explanation for Laȝamon's representation of Celts and Anglo-Saxons may be mentioned here with reference to his moral emphasis. Christians and those acting morally are represented favourably, while pagans and traitors are rejected, without relation to their ethnic groups. Cf. Lesley Johnson, 'Reading the past in Laȝamon's *Brut*,' in Le Saux, ed., *The Text and Tradition of Laȝamon's 'Brut'*, pp 141–60 (p. 158); Robert M. Stein, 'Making History English: Cultural Identity and Historical Explanation in William of Malmesbury and Layamon's *Brut,*' in *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed. by Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), pp. 97–115; Carol Weinberg, 'Victor and Victim: A View of the Anglo-Saxon Past in Laȝamon's *Brut*,' in *Literary Appropriations of the Anglo-Saxons from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Donald Scragg and Carole Weinberg, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 29 (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), pp. 22–38; Elizabeth J. Bryan, 'The Two Manuscripts of Laȝamon's *Brut*: Some Readers in the Margins,' in Le Saux, ed., *The Text and Tradition of Layamon's 'Brut'*, pp. 89–102; Allen, trans., pp. 28–32, and Daniel Donoghue, 'Laȝamon's Ambivalence,' *Speculum* 65.3 (1990), 537–63.

subject of considerable scholarly attention, often in relation to the intentions of the author and revisers. This section details this discussion, before 2.2 presents details of my method in studying the French-derived vocabulary in *LB* in addition to the general method described in 1.5.

In 1969 Eric Stanley could already write that 'the relationship between the two texts has often been discussed'.[19] Caligula was originally considered an earlier text and the best witness of the authorial version. With La3amon's version thought to originate from between 1190 and 1216, Caligula's date of c1225 was very close. Otho was dated later, around 1275, and was consequently considered less interesting, also since it does not contain as many Anglo-Saxon features. This difference could be explained as being due to the changes in ME that occurred between the start and later part of the thirteenth century, Otho representing a modified, updated version of La3amon's original text. Otho also received less attention simply because it survives in a manuscript that has sustained considerable damage.

Over the course of the twentieth century, however, the dating of the manuscripts was revised: both were placed later in the thirteenth century, making the two versions roughly contemporaneous witnesses of the text and both at some remove from La3amon's time. At present, Caligula is dated to *c.* 1275 and Otho to the very start of the fourteenth century.[20] While most critics writing on the texts take care to specify that Caligula is unlikely to represent La3amon's version exactly and that Otho would not have been derived from Caligula itself, they then proceed to treat Caligula as representing La3amon's version. Otho is also then compared to Caligula as a version deviating from the supposed original.[21] With only two manuscripts surviving, a detailed stemmatic reconstruction of the manuscript tradition is not possible, though it is clear that neither version used the other as exemplar.[22]

As the difference between the two versions could no longer be explained by pointing to the natural evolution of ME, Stanley therefore put forth a different thesis on Caligula's style, which explains its Anglo-Saxon features as a conscious archaising

[19] Eric G. Stanley, 'Antiquarian Sentiments,' *Medium Ævum* 38.1 (1969), 23–37 (p. 28).
[20] See Barron and *The Owl and the Nightingale: Reproduced in Facsimile from the Surviving Manuscripts Jesus College Oxford 29 and British Museum Cotton Caligula A.ix*, ed. by N. R. Ker, EETS, os, 251 (London, 1963 for 1962).
[21] A selection of negative views of Otho is given in Christopher Cannon, 'The Style and Authorship of the Otho Revision of Layamon's 'Brut',' *Medium Ævum* 62 (1993), 187–209 (p. 187).
[22] See Barron; Stanley, 'Antiquarian Sentiments'.

effort.[23] This idea of conscious inclusion of Anglo-Saxon elements provided an even easier step to arguing that the text promotes an English over an AF identity. Stanley's reading has been influential, although some responses suggest that various Anglo-Saxon linguistic features in Caligula are not archaic, but were current in Laȝamon's day at least in the linguistically conservative South-West Midlands of Laȝamon's and the manuscript's origins.[24]

By ascribing this intention to Laȝamon rather than the Caligula redactor, Stanley also continued the equation of Caligula to Laȝamon's original, and many who view Caligula as archaising have continued to dismiss Otho as the less interesting text.[25] This dismissal of Otho's style was challenged by Christopher Cannon, who suggested that Otho represents a consistent rewriting of a text like the Caligula version with the aim of putting it in the sphere of more modern romance literature.[26] This involved using vocabulary with neutral or romance connotations where Caligula used vocabulary with Anglo-Saxon epic connotations. Cannon explicitly chooses not to focus on the French elements in Otho. His reason is that in those cases where Caligula contains rare vocabulary with Anglo-Saxon associations and Otho uses ('substitutes', in Cannon's term) different words, the terms found in Otho are typically common, unmarked Anglo-Saxon words rather than lexis of French origin. The contrast Cannon discusses is thus based more on the cultural and generic associations of certain words than on their origin. Much of the vocabulary of the two versions, moreover, is shared: even if a term is not present in Otho where Caligula does use it, it may be used in Otho elsewhere. Caligula's *spillen*, for example, is used where Otho has *speken* or *seien* 13 out of 18

[23] Stanley, 'Antiquarian Sentiments.'
[24] See e.g. Mark C. Amodio, 'Layamon's "Brut" and the Survival of Anglo-Saxon Poetry' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1987); 'Layamon's Anglo-Saxon Lexicon and Diction,' *Poetica (Tokyo): An International Journal of Linguistic-Literary Studies* 28 (1988), 48–59; and Haruo Iwasaki, 'A Few Notes on the Vocabulary of Layamon's Brut,' *Poetica (Tokyo): An International Journal of Linguistic-Literary Studies* 24 (1986), 1–15. Compare Stanley's impression that the syntax of the *Brut* shows the impression of a mannerism in imitation of older use rather than a style comparable to OE in 'Laȝamon's Un-Anglo-Saxon Syntax,' in Le Saux, ed., *The Text and Tradition of Laȝamon's 'Brut'*, pp. 47–56. Le Saux also dismisses the notion, arguing the archaic quality is limited to spelling and hence the visual (*The Poem and Its Sources*, p. 192).
[25] Cannon lists full-length studies of the *Brut* that focus 'almost exclusively on passages taken from Caligula' in 'Style and Authorship', note 7. This point is also made in Bryan, *Collaborative Meaning*, pp. 47–50, who relates this to the methodologies of textual criticism.
[26] Cannon, 'Style and Authorship'. An early study arguing that Otho, rather than deficient, was informed by a different 'poetic vision' is Theodore A. Stroud, 'Scribal Editing in Lawman's "Brut",' *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 51.1 (January 1952), 42–48.

uses; on three other occasions Otho does not contain the equivalent line, but twice it uses *spillen* in the same line as Caligula.[27]

Following Cannon, greater attention has been paid to the cultural positioning and interests of each version taken separately. Combined with other work on the value of the Otho text, this has resulted in a consensus that it is useful and important to look at Otho in its own right, even if aesthetic preference is often still given to Caligula.[28] In addition, the critical vocabulary that is employed continues to assign a primary role to Caligula, e.g. Cannon's terms 'substitution' and 'revisions'.[29] Elizabeth Bryan's study of the Otho version explicitly adopts a neutral vocabulary instead, using 'contains' and 'does not contain' rather than 'omits' or 'substitutes'; I follow her in this.[30]

Explicitly connected to testing Cannon's hypothesis, Christine Elsweiler's work on the *Brut* texts provides a detailed examination of the lexical fields of 'warrior', 'hero' and 'knight' in the two versions.[31] Her study considers the use of this vocabulary in other ME texts, so as to establish whether the terms found more in Otho indeed have romance associations, i.e. are commonly used in ME romances. She found that there is very little difference except for increased use of the native English word **knight** and a decreased use of alliterative synonyms in Otho. Additionally, the alliterative synonyms see further use in ME and some are common terms in alliterating romances. Elsweiler also found that the terms of French origin used in other romances for 'knight', 'warrior' and 'hero' are not central to these lexical fields and had a more technical or decorative function. Hence their absence in Caligula and limited presence in Otho are not aberrant when compared to the conventions of the romance genre. Elsweiler therefore concludes that the contrast in the vocabulary of Caligula and Otho cannot be cast in terms of the texts' orientation towards Anglo-Saxon heroic associations on the one hand and romance associations on the other. Instead, both versions can be put in the tradition of

---

[27] See Table 2 in Cannon, 'Style and Authorship,' p. 190. This leads Cannon to argue that based on the lexis of the two versions, they could well have been written by the same author, representing attempts to target different cultural tastes, for example like the different versions of *Piers Plowman* that result from the author's developing ideas about the text.

[28] Lucy Perry, 'Origins and Originality: Reading Lawman's *Brut* and the Rejection of British Library Ms Cotton Otho C.Xiii,' *Arthuriana* 10.2 (2000), 66–84; see e.g. Cannon, 'Style and Authorship,' 187, citing Donald G. Bzdyl, *Laȝamon's 'Brut': a History of the Britons*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 65 (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1989), p. 22.

[29] On the effects of this, see Perry, 'Origins and Originality' and Bryan, *Collaborative Meaning*.

[30] Bryan, *Collaborative Meaning*, p. xii.

[31] See also the reviews by Jane Rogers in *Anglia* 130.2 (July 2012), 293–297 and Lucy Perry in *Arthuriana* 22.3 (Fall 2012), 94–96.

ME romance.[32] Elsweiler's explicit rejection of Cannon's hypothesis is based only on these lexical fields, however central they are to the text. The idea of a possible relation between the lexis of the two versions and their cultural or literary orientation cannot yet be fully dismissed. That this orientation cannot easily be put under the header of modern genre labels, as emerges from Elsweiler's conclusions, is a useful reminder not to let such categories determine our reading of the past (see 6.5).

2.2 Method, Data Set and Analysis

In this chapter, I aim to continue Elsweiler's work. On the one hand my study is broader, not limited to a few lexical fields. On the other hand, it is restricted to French-derived words and does not provide a comprehensive treatment of the texts' use of the terms, as her more narrowly focused study does. Detailed discussion will be given only of selected scenes in the *Brut* narrative. The standard view is that *LB*, even in the Otho version, contains only a small number of French-derived words and that many of those that are used can be found already in earlier texts or even in OE. Françoise Le Saux's discussion of the topic highlights that the most frequently given number, of about fifty, may be considered low by one scholar yet high by another.[33] The matter is further coloured by the changing dates assigned to the two versions, for this influences whether or not a word would have been integrated into English by the time of the manuscript's production.

Several studies discuss the vocabulary of *LB*, though without systematic attention to the French element in it, and these have formed the starting point of my analysis. In the introduction to his edition of the text, Madden mentions that the number of French-derived words in either Caligula or Otho is 'very trifling', amounting to 'not [...] so many as fifty' in Caligula and about seventy in Otho, and gives non-exhaustive lists of them in two footnotes; his glossary and notes include relevant comments.[34] Adolf Luhmann's study of the orthographical practice of Caligula contains an appendix of

[32] Elsweiler, pp. 361–65.
[33] Le Saux, *The Poem and Its Sources*, pp. 59–94.
[34] Madden, p. xxii (note 4 and 5). Madden's list of OF words includes *hune* and *haleweie* (**houne** n1 and **hale-weie**), neither of which is considered of OF or Latin origin according to the *OED* or *MED*; these have been excluded from my data set.

French loanwords, this time amounting to eighty-eight in total.[35] Around the same time, B.S. Monroe combined several early lists.[36] Based on a later and more detailed study of the diction of the *Brut*, a list of both Latin and French terms (together totalling seventy-seven) is provided by Henry Cecil Wyld.[37] Although it is captioned 'French words in the later text', the list also includes reference to terms used in Caligula. It is based on the first part of his study, which concentrated on 'Words and phrases occurring in manuscript Caligula which are replaced by others in Otho', and as such does not claim to be complete.[38] Elsweiler's study of the lexical fields of 'warrior', 'knight' and 'army' discusses a number of terms of French extraction, as mentioned.[39]

My analysis of the French-derived vocabulary in the two versions of *LB* began with the compilation of a list of such words based on these studies, which in order to attain a better coverage was combined with a search of the electronic versions of the *MED* and the sections of *LB* included in *LAEME*. For the *MED*, this was achieved by using Boolean searches for any entries of French origin (based on the etymological note) and with quotations from either version of *LB* (cf. 1.5). The results included any entry for which the etymological note contained 'OF' for Old French, 'CF' for Central French, 'AF' for Anglo-French or 'ONF' for Old Northern French and which contained quotations for texts with a stencil containing 'Brut' and 'Lay', since the *MED* stencil for Caligula is 'Lay. Brut (Clg A.9)' and for Otho 'Lay. Brut (Otho C.13)'. Each of these sources contributed words not listed by any of the others. While this method cannot claim to yield a complete overview of the French-derived vocabulary in the *Brut* texts, as is evident from those terms not found in the *MED* search but noted by my other sources, nevertheless the resulting list is more complete than any so far and is unlikely to have missed many.

---

[35] *Die Überlieferung von Laȝamons Brut, nebst einder Darstellung der betonten Vokale und Diphthonge*, Studien zur Englishen Philologie XXII (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1906), p. 190. The appendix is at pp. 190–93. Luhmann also points to another study with a list, one he calls 'unvollständig und ungenau', in Richard Morris, *Historical Outlines of English Accidence, comprising chapters on the history and development of the language, and on word-formation*, rev. L. Kellner (London: Macmillan, 1895), the list appearing at pp. 438–50.

[36] 'French words in Laȝamon,' *Modern Philology* 4.3 (1907), 559–67.

[37] 'Studies in the Diction of Layamon's *Brut*,' *Language* 6.1 (March 1930), 1–24 (pp. 23–24), and subsequent parts in the same periodical.

[38] Wyld, pp. 1–2.

[39] Elsweiler, *passim*. A few words are given as French-derived in Max Böhnke's study of verbs in the *Brut*, but were rejected as the less likely readings of the manuscript form, as discussed in Appendix 2 (*Die Flexion des Verbums in Laȝamons Brut* (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1906), pp. 65, 69).

Indeed, though the *MED* search resulted in a vastly expanded list, this did mean casting the net too widely. A large number of the words found may derive to some extent from French, but could just as well be based on an OE or Latin word. Since my interest is in the sociocultural associations of the use of French-derived words, words that may also derive from OE or Latin cannot be included. Assessing the French influence on the text in general requires an assessment of the likelihood of French influence on these individual words. In this process several terms listed as French-derived by Madden, Wyld or Elsweiler were also eliminated. This selection was made with an awareness of the relative artificiality of a sharp distinction between these languages, and in fact highlights that problem (see 1.2.1 and 1.5.2). As a relatively early ME text, *LB* provides a fascinating example of the difficulties involved in an attempt to isolate French influence in ME.

Before words were discarded from the data set, a comparison was made with the etymological note in the *OED* and relevant French dictionaries, primarily the *AND*, supplemented with the digitally available versions of the *FEW*, the *TLFi* and Godefroy. For example, the etymological note for **picchen** 'to thrust' in the *MED* contains the tentative comment '?Also cp. OF *piquier*'. The *OED* (**pitch** v 2) notes the existence of an 'apparently isolated' AF attestation, included in the *AND* as **piccher**, but suggests no other French influence, emphasising that the origin is uncertain. The *AND* quotations are from documents related to the building trade, which also contain words taken from ME, so that an origin in ME is probable. Other French dictionaries do not record the word. As there is no further indication this word was derived from OF, I have not included it in the data set.[40]

Some words may show influence of a similar or related French word in their spelling. However, spelling provides very equivocal evidence of the influence of French on ME, as it does not necessarily reflect an etymological judgement by the scribe. A French spelling may also be due to a scribe's writing French more often than English. Moreover, even if a scribe, familiar with AF and its spelling system, associated a word with French, this does not necessarily mean that a reader or listener would have that same association. Finally, a judgement about the degree of French influence based on spelling can only refer to specific manuscript witnesses, not a word's general integration

[40] The other words excluded for this reason are **gives** 'shackles', **hurt** and **hurten** (see Appendix 2), and **rade** (adj 1) 'quick', found in Caligula at line 6146.

in ME. Where I conclude that French influence is improbable for the use of these words in *LB*, they are not included in the data set. In some cases the *MED* indicates that specific spellings may be influenced by French forms, which are not found in the *Brut* based on a search of the two texts of *LB* as included in the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* and the *MED* quotations.[41] The etymological note for a number of native words contains a prompt to compare the ME form with the AF term, which clearly derived from the ME (**outlaue** 'outlaw', **sheltroun** 'battle formation', **steuard** 'steward'). While these words have interesting stories to tell of the interaction between these languages, in the context of examining the role of French in *LB* they are here left aside. Each of these occurs regularly in both versions. Lastly, some words were influenced semantically by French synonyms or (near) homonyms in later ME, such as **bord** which gained a sense 'side, edge' from OF **bord**. In the *Brut* texts, however, it is not used in that sense.[42] In yet other cases, a native word has actually merged with an OF word or sense by later ME, like **biclosen** and **enclosen** 'to enclose' (from AF **encloser**). There is no indication that this has occurred in *LB*.

A small number of surviving attestations can also make for a complicated story of the integration of a word in English, even if the ultimate etymology is clearer. **Corounen** 'to crown' has OE antecedents derived from Latin, although the ME form may derive from OF. The OE noun **corōna**, from Latin, is attested twice in the *Dictionary of Old English* (*DOE*) beside Germanic **bēag** 'arm ring, crown' (ME **bei** n, used in the *Brut* in other senses), as is a single instance of a verb form, *gecoronadest* (in King Alfred's translation of the psalms). It is quite possible that ME **corounen** built on a familiar noun, with the OF noun and verb reinforcing the usage as well as influencing certain spellings; but the surviving records do not actually tell us this.[43] In fact, the revised etymological note in the third edition of the *OED* concludes that the verb was 'formed within English, by conversion' (**crown** v), while for the noun it concludes on an original borrowing from Latin, subsequently reinforced by the French form. If just

[41] For example, **chavel** 'jaw' (e.g. Caligula, line 3244) and **scole** (n 2) 'school' (Caligula, line 4935).
[42] Other words that came out of the search which may have been influenced by OF in their use or in particular meanings are: **after** (prep), **al-hol** (adj), **along** (adv/prep), **at** (prep), **bannen** (v), **bat** (n), **bende** (n 1), **fleten** (v), **flote** (n 1), **freten** (v), **in** (prep), **lai** (n 1), **laven** (v), **marke** (n 1), **ne** (adv), **sounde** (n 1) and **welcome** (adj).
[43] The forms used in both Caligula and Otho have initial <*cr*> rather than <*cor*-> or <*cur*->, like the majority of Latin and AF forms (to judge from dictionaries; the *AND* gives a single form in <*cr*->). Most of the early ME forms have lost the first vowel, including all forms included in *LAEME* for South-West Midlands texts (the region of *LB*). This deviation from the Latin and French forms may also indicate a longer history of usage in English.

one or two more attestations had not survived, however, we might conclude today that the word was used in English only much later.[44] For cases like **corounen**, the footnotes in Appendix 2 detail the reason for their exclusion.

This section has detailed the compilation of the data set and discussed items excluded since their classification as French-derived was dubious. The final data set that was used for analysis contains ninety-one French-derived words used in the one or both versions of *LB*. The words may be found in Appendix 1 along with information on their forms as found in the *Brut* texts, non-exhaustive line numbers for their use in *LB* and an etymological note. For both versions, all words are attested in the *AND* in at least a related form, so that no continental origin needs to be supposed for the French-derived vocabulary of *LB*. Their attestations in ME are listed in Appendix 3. The method of analysis was explained in 1.5 and involves the degree of integration of the words in ME at the time they were used in Caligula and Otho, based on dictionary attestations, attestations of synonyms, and other indications of foreignness. The following first discusses words found in both versions, then those found in Caligula only, to finish with those found in Otho only. Where my analysis concerns a word's general integration in ME, no line numbers are given in the discussion; these may be found in Appendix 1.

A final practical note concerns the metre of *LB* and its treatment in editions. Its relation to OE alliterative verse is a source of some debate.[45] Madden's edition is based on short lines, while Brook and Leslie give long lines. The latter have been shown to correspond to the ideas and units of thought presented in the text, as well as to the octosyllabic lines of Wace's *Roman de Brut*.[46] Consequently, I quote from Brook and Leslie. However, since most earlier studies on the vocabulary of *LB* used Madden, his edition is referenced Appendix 1 and 2. For my analysis, both editions were consulted.

[44] Similarly, OE antedatings for ME forms are regularly found during the revision of the *OED* resulting in *OED3*; on relevant instances for *LB*, see Philip Durkin, 'Laȝamon in the third edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*,' in *Laȝamon: Contexts, Language, and Interpretation*, ed. by Rosamund Allen and others (London: King's College London, 2002), pp. 203–10. On the *OED3*, see 1.5.2.1.

[45] Erik Kooper, 'Layamon's prosody: Caligula and Otho — Metres Apart,' in Allen and others, eds, *Reading Laȝamon's 'Brut'*, pp. 419–41.

[46] Le Saux, *The Poem and its Sources*, pp. 27–30, referring to Dennis P. Donahue, *Lawman's 'Brut', an early Arthurian poem: a study of Middle English formulaic composition* (Lewiston: Mellen, 1991).

2.3 French Vocabulary Found in Both Versions of Laȝamon's *Brut*

In my final data set, twenty-seven French-derived words are found in both Caligula and Otho. Twelve of these (44%) are attested also in other texts from 1200 and in at least one text for each subsequent fifty-year period: **baroun** 'baron', **cacchen** 'to catch', **ginne** 'ingenuity', **manere** 'manner',[47] **scorn** 'scorn', **scorninge** 'scorning', **sire** 'sir', **striven** 'to strive', **werre** 'war', **werren**/**werreien** 'to war',[48] **povre** 'poor', and **proud** 'proud'. Even though for early periods there is often only a small number of attestations or even just a single one per period, the total number of attestations and the lack of long gaps between them suggests a continuity of usage, which in turn suggests these words were probably known more generally and were not limited to these texts.

Sire, interestingly, is used only of King Arthur in *LB*. Elsweiler found it to be a term of limited currency within the lexical field of 'leader', though '*sir* used as title is a highly popular term in ME romances'.[49] The single use in the *Brut* texts is indeed in direct address, as the king of Iceland, Alcus/Ælcus, accepts Arthur as lord: 'Wolcome sire Arthur; wolcome louerd. | Her ich bi-take þe an hond; al to-gadere Islond' (Otho 11220–21).[50] Limited currency may signal that a word is not yet assimilated in ME, though not necessarily, and if so this did not prevent even the Caligula redactor from using it. The use of the native synonym, **lord**, in the same line as **sire** could indicate the need for an explanation of **sire**, but could equally well be for rhetorical effect, especially in the context of a formal speech. Alternatively, they may have slightly different meaning (the *HTOED* includes **sir** (n 1) and **lord** in different categories); perhaps **sire** could function as title while **lord** indicated rank more generally. **Lord** is used regularly in *LB*, including this section of the text (see 5.2.1.2).

Would **sire** have had the connotation of being a French term, at that time? An association with aristocratic culture is probable, which could well have included an awareness of the word's origins in French. If it would still have been felt as a French term, then it demonstrates that in Caligula there is no total avoidance of recognisably French lexical items. If not, then the highly restricted use in both versions of *LB*

[47] **Manere** is used in Otho at several points, but in Caligula it is a debated form; see Appendix 1.
[48] Forms of **werren** 'to war' and **werreien** 'to wage war' can be impossible to distinguish, so that I have combined attestations for the two verbs. The use in *LB* may belong to either word.
[49] Elsweiler, pp. 278–81 (p. 281).
[50] The reading in Caligula differs only in some spellings and the verb **bitechen** instead of **bitaken**. The verbs are very close in meaning and under **bitaken** the *MED*'s etymology points to **bitechen** as comparable. Earlier in the text, Caligula also uses **bitaken** in the same context of 'ich bi-take þe an honde' (1507). Both verbs continue to be attested in later ME.

remains unexplained. Arthur's exceptional status in the text, as hero of the narrative, offers the most likely explanation: a term used for him should be exceptional, at least within the text. In addition, the speaker is a foreigner and the context is that of high-end state politics. The use of **sire** thus seems to be a specialised use for a particular literary effect. With respect to this, it is interesting to note that the same speech includes Alcus' imploration that Arthur take on his son as one of his knights, with the verb **dubben**, discussed below.

Of a number of other words found in both Caligula and Otho there are indications that the word may have been in use in English by 1200, or at least that it would have appeared familiar or would have been comprehensible to English speakers, even though they are not attested in every fifty-year period from 1200 onwards. The clearest such indication is the attestation of a closely associated word or form. For example, **strivinge** 'quarrelling' is first attested in the period 1250–1300, but the verb **striven**, also found in *LB*, is attested from 1200. **Waste** (adj) 'desolate' is attested only from the period 1300–1350, but the related verb (**wasten** 'to devastate') and noun (**waste** n 1 'wilderness') are both attested between 1200 and 1250, in three different texts and various compound bynames that include English elements, like *Wastehose*. More importantly, the adjective could build on a native word of similar meaning, **weste** (adj), attested in seven ME texts up to 1325. Although **latimer** is first attested in a ME text in *LB*, it was already in use as byname from 1100, and may have been familiar.[51] There certainly seems to have been a dearth of synonyms in early ME, with most OE nouns no longer attested (or not in the meaning 'interpreter'), which may have prompted the use of a French-derived word. A similar case showing early attestations in bynames and a lack of attested synonyms is **masoun** 'mason' (see note in Appendix 1). Like **wasten** and **waste** (n 1), **dubben** 'to dub' is attested in the *MED* between 1200 and 1250 but not between 1250 and 1300; however, *LAEME* includes attestations in manuscripts dated to between 1250 and 1300 for **wasten** and **dubben**. In addition, since **dubben** occurs in the phrase *dubben to cnihte* (e.g. 15062), understanding would not be problematic in context. In all, it is quite possible that all of these words were in more general use before 1300, too, though to what extent they would have been considered English or how widely they were used cannot be stated conclusively.

[51] On the restricted value of bynames as attestations for ME usage, see 1.5.2.1.

Canoun has a complicated history, with OE antecedents derived from Latin although the ME form seems to derive from OF. As concluded in 1.5.2.1, there is sufficient indication to consider it probable that this word saw broader use in ME than the attestations reveal and was integrated in the language at an early date, like **corounen** (excluded from the main data set because of possible Latin influence; see 2.2). Attestations of **ariven** 'to arrive' are even more limited before 1300 than those of **corounen**: it is found only in Caligula and a version of *King Horn* (?c1225) surviving in a manuscript of c1300. In *LAEME* too it is only found after 1300. The aphetic form, **riven** (v 3) 'to arrive', is only attested after 1300, though in seven different texts around the same time in the early fourteenth century. Such a sudden appearance of attestations across texts and genres suggests that a word may have been current in spoken language, or lost written sources, before the earliest surviving attestations (see 4.5). Thus in the later thirteenth century, as Caligula and Otho were produced, (**a**)**riven** may have been in use in ME. It appears in the equivalent scene in Wace, that of Merlin's prediction to Vortigern of the arrival of Aurelius and Uther to avenge their brother Constantin. Wace uses *arriva* for the brothers' actual arrival right after Merlin's speech (7586), while in *LB* the term occurs within Merlin's speech, the arrival being described with a simple *comen* (8045). In the speech, it creates an aural effect, where Aurelius' name echoes the arrival:

> Nu beoð of Brutaine; beornes ariued.
> hit his Aurilien & Vther; (Caligula 8016–17a)[52]

The use of **comen** 'to come' to express the sense 'arrive' (8019), illustrates that there was no semantic need to adopt **ariven**. The *HTOED* in fact lists at least five verbs that could be used this way before 1300. The extent to which **ariven** had been integrated in English by the time Caligula and Otho were produced, beyond the lexicon of bilingual English and French speakers, remains unclear, but its one occurrence in *LB* represents a creative use of the lexical material offered by the source text. It also illustrates the poetic inclination of the text, present here in both versions.[53]

Although few certain conclusions can be reached, for each of the terms discussed so far there are indications that they may have been better known than a cautious interpretation of the data allows. The same applies for most of the words first attested in

[52] Compare Wace, line 7586. Otho differs in that it has *cnihtes* rather than *beornes*, one of the more common differences, and in the form *Aurelie* for *Aurilien*.
[53] On poetic word play in *LB* (with most attention to Caligula), see e.g. Wickham-Crowley, *Writing the Future*, pp. 65–70.

texts dated between 1250 and 1300, the same time which saw the production of the manuscripts of *LB*. For example, **mountaine** 'mountain' will have been understandable from related forms like **mount** (attested earlier in ME, though in French they are contemporaneous forms) and **storen** 'to store' is the aphetic version of **astoren**, which is attested once in the early thirteenth century. Each of these words may thus have been more widely known, as part of a word family with broader attestations.

This is more difficult to conclude for **male** 'bag' (n 2) and **halen** 'to haul', for which there are no related forms. **Male** refers to a bag with 100 pounds given by Cordoille to her father's servant when he comes to her in France to ask for help (1769). It is not used by Wace in that scene (1973–2066). The *HTOED* gives no immediate synonyms with earlier attestations which could have been used instead, though the context in *LB* makes clear that it will hold money, so that a more general term could have worked as well. However, given that the word is attested in three different texts dated to c1250, though surviving in later manuscripts, and is well attested from 1300 on, the word's use in *LB* may not have been unexpected either. For **halen** the attestations are later but still numerous enough to suggest earlier currency. Consequently, it appears that all words that are first attested in other texts in the same period as the *LB* manuscripts were probably familiar, but for some the evidence is more convincing than for others.

Finally, a number of words found in both versions of *LB* only have later or problematic attestations. Their occurrence in *LB* does not immediately fit with the text's perceived Anglo-Saxon character. However, in each case there are explanations for the term's use. **Lof** (n 4 'spar, part of a ship') has very patchy attestations and is found mainly in documentary contexts, like the bynames noted above, providing doubtful evidence for the term's use in ME. Given that we are dealing with a specialist nautical term this is not surprising. Few other texts would have had occasion to use the word. This fact and the continuous use of the signified may suggest that the term saw greater use than current evidence shows.[54] The use in *LB* may be further explained by Wace's interest in technical detail, which is reduced in *LB* but retained in this instance, perhaps because of the nautical interest evidenced elsewhere in Laȝamon's versions, too.[55]

[54] On the etymological puzzle of nautical terms, see David Trotter, 'Language Contact, Multilingualism, and the Evidence Problem,' in *The Beginnings of Standardization: Language and Culture in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. by Ursula Schaeffer (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 73–90. Cf. Madden's glossarial remark to line 7859 (III, p. 476).

[55] On reduction of detail, see Le Saux, *The Poem and Its Sources*, pp. 33–42. John S. P. Tatlock argues that Laȝamon had a greater interest in nautical detail than Wace (*The legendary history of Britain:*

In a simpler example, **dousse-per** ‘one of the twelve peers (of Charlemagne), famous knight’ is explained in *LB*, making its use unproblematic:

> Inne Franse weren italde twelfe iferan.
> þa Freinsce heo cleopeden dusze pers; (812–13a, both versions)[56]

Clearly marked like this as an instance of unintegrated French, despite its occasional use in ME, this term also does not clash with an Anglo-Saxon style, as it is called for by the context.

Found in both manuscript versions but otherwise a *hapax legomenon* and thus the most intriguing word in this section is **essel** ‘bolt, bar’. The normal sense of the AF form is ‘axle’, though it has a complex history and we cannot be certain the form in *LB* is French (see Appendix 1). It is used here in a rather odd compound, *ȝæt essel* (‘gate-bar’, 9477), and is not present in Wace (8729) or required by rhyme. The metrical context seems to require stress on the first syllable, whereas the normal stress in the OF word would be on the final syllable. It may serve as part of the loose assonance that Laȝamon regularly employs instead of alliteration and end rhyme, but that in itself would hardly prompt the use of a highly French form. **Barre** (n) ‘bar’ was available as synonym: also French-derived, it is attested regularly in each fifty-year period from 1200 on, in clear contrast with **essel**.

The scene in which it is used, that of Uther’s disguised entry into Tintagel to seduce Igerne and father Arthur, is expanded in a way typical of Laȝamon’s style.[57] Wace’s plain statement that they entered the castle is replaced by enlivening direct speech that also showcases the efficacy of Merlin’s disguising potion, which has made Uther look like Igerne’s husband, the earl. ‘En Tintajuel le seir entrerent’ (8729), in the evening they entered Tintagel, becomes:

> hii wende riht þane way; þat in-to Tyntagel lay.
> hii come to þan castel-ȝeate; and couþliche speke.
> Vndo þis ȝeat-essel þe eorl his icomen her. (Otho 9475–77)

In other contexts, the appearance of unintegrated French in direct speech has been seen as marking the social status of a character (see 5.4). The use of **essel** here might serve to

---

Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia regum Britanniae and its early vernacular versions (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950), pp. 497–98).

[56] Le Saux discusses the passage, arguing that although the scene in Wace mentions *doze pers*, this just means ‘twelve noblemen of equal rank’, not referring to the twelve worthy retainers of Charlemagne in *chansons de geste*; Laȝamon’s inclusion of the French phrase could be a mistranslation, mistaking them for Charlemagne’s lords, or could be intentional and ironic, since not even these famous heroes can withstand Brutus and Corineus (*The Poem and Its Sources*, p. 75).

[57] *The Poem and Its Sources*, pp. 42–58.

identify the earl's status, even if he does not speak himself. Considering the audience, if one did not know the word, then the gist of the passage would be clear enough from the context and the first element of the compound, which repeats *ȝæte* (**gate** n 1 'gate') from the previous line, again compounding it with a French-derived word. Knowing the word may have meant appreciation of the effect of the French insertion as status marker. On balance, this single rare word might represent a strategic use of a French term, or it may have been more current than the surviving textual record allows us to perceive either from French or some other source.

An additional rare form that was probably present in both manuscript versions concerns *cued*, which seems to pun on OF **cué** 'tailed' and ME **quede** (adj) 'evil, wicked' in the narrative of Augustine's curse that left Englishmen with tails. After reporting on the event, Laȝamon includes a comment (not present in Wace) that many good Englishmen continue to encounter the stereotype: 'monies godes monnes sune in vncuðe londe [...] is icleoped cued' (Caligula 14771–72).[58] The preceding narrative has already established that these people were 'tailed'; the enduring pejorative use of this epithet abroad makes some sense of **quede** likely here, while the resemblance with the OF form is unlikely to be pure chance.

The passage in Wace (13721–44) contains eight instances of the OF noun and verb, as do other OF treatments of the story at this point (cf. *AND* **cowe**). However, there is no record in the *MED* or *OED* of any ME form based on **cué** in this sense (the form of *LB* is only listed under **quede**). Mannyng's *Story of England* is alone in referring to **coue**, for the specialist sense of tail-rhymed verse. OF **cowe** 'tail' is attested in a few fifteenth-century ME forms, **queue** (n 1 and n 2), all in derivative senses: 'barrel', 'line of dancers' and 'band of vellum'. The instance in *LB* will have been created for the occasion to exploit the meaning potential of the English form.[59]

[58] The lines in Otho read the same, but break off after the <*c*> of *cued*. To complicate matters further, Brook and Leslie note that the final <*d*> is 'erroneously altered to ð by reviser' (p. 773). The resulting form makes little sense in the context, but may indicate the original reading was not clear to all, let alone the pun.

[59] See Tatlock (p. 506) for the suggestion of the OF origin of the form; Le Saux, *The Poem and Its Sources* (p. 5) agrees, as does E. G. Stanley, 'Layamon (*fl.* 13th cent.)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16217, accessed 16 June 2015], while Allen, trans. (pp. 463–64), rejects Le Saux's focus on the French form and emphasises the dual nature of the form. I would tend to agree with her from at least the perspective of Laȝamon and/or scribes, compilers, and perhaps readers, but am not sure what would have been made of this if read aloud.

In sum, most of the vocabulary common to both versions was in all probability well integrated in the English language or at least comprehensible by the time the Otho and Caligula redactors came across it or chose to use it. Some are notably only used once in Caligula and more frequently in Otho (e.g. **povre**, **baroun**). A few more peculiar terms, like **ariven**, **essel** and *cued* were probably used for poetic effect.[60]

2.4 French Vocabulary Found in Caligula

This is the smallest subset: only twelve French-derived words are used in Caligula but not in Otho. Two of these are attested in each fifty-year period from at least 1200, though not always in a manuscript dated to that period: **estre** 'estate' (not attested in this particular sense in each period) and **skirmen** 'to fence'. **Maumet** 'idol' is attested from 1200 but for the period 1250-1300 is found only in Caligula, while **trinite** 'Trinity' is attested in other texts from 1250, though it would likely have been familiar from the related Latin form **trinitas**. On the whole none of these makes a strange appearance in Caligula, or even in a text written in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

There is also a number of striking words for which Caligula provides the only attestation in the *MED*, or which are attested just once or twice in other texts: **boune** 'bound(ary)', **scar** 'scorn', **coriun** 'instrument', and **salteriun** 'psaltery'. These rare French-derived words might seem out of place in this text given its Anglo-Saxon characteristics, but as with the rarest terms found in both versions of *LB* their use proves unproblematic for comprehension by the audience. **Salteriun** and **coriun** occur in a list of musical instruments which the accomplished king Blegabret could play and are taken from Wace.[61] **Salteriun** has related forms that are attested in OE (see Appendix 1). In addition, their exact meaning may not matter, as it is their number that should impress. Laʒamon had less patience for this sort of detail than Wace and the Otho redactor even less than Caligula's. In this case Caligula is fairly close to Wace while Otho, which prefers being more to the point, does not contain these lines at all, stating only that 'he cuþe alle þe songes; of alle kunne londes' (3492).[62] Had the list been maintained, then these same words would in all likelihood have been used.

[60] Cf. *Vertescu* in Appendix 2.
[61] Wace, lines 3697–703; *LB*, lines 3491–92. In *LB* **timpe** 'small drum' is added (see Appendix 2).
[62] In another scene, that of Arthur's coronation feast, neither version of *LB* retains Wace's enumeration of instruments to be heard there, as Le Saux notes; commenting it may be due to an omission in the source, she considers it more likely the list was 'felt to be too technical, as well as disrupting the rhythm of an

Scar, meaning 'scorn' and derived from OF **esc(h)ar** just like **scorn**, is attested only in *LB* in the *MED*, while there is no corresponding *OED* entry. A partial explanation may be provided by **scorn**, which is used in *LB* and attested in each period from 1200 as both verb and noun, particularly since many early forms of **scorn** are of the type *scarn*. Neither the *MED* nor the *OED* entry records forms of **scorn** without final <*n*>, but we are clearly dealing here with a variant of **scorn** that would probably not have caused any difficulty of comprehension or have appeared highly French.[63]

Boune (n) is only attested once outside of *LB*. In the *Ayenbite of Inwit* the form is used, but in a very different sense: 'a cord used by a builder' rather than 'boundary stone'. The rarity of **boune** as suggested by the *MED* entry is not entirely correct, however, as with **scar**. The *MED* distinguishes **boune** from **bounde** 'bound(ary)' and enters them as separate headwords, both of which are however derived from OF 'bodne, bonde, boune, bosne', and the *AND* has a single entry **bounde**[1] for forms of both types.[64] For **bounde**, the influence of Latin **bonna**, **bunda** is also referenced in the *MED*, but not for **boune**. The main sense of **bounde**, 'boundary marker or line', encompasses the sense of **boune** as used in *LB*, given as 'boundary stone'. Indeed, in *LB* the term refers to the Pillars of Hercules as forming the bounds of Hercules' discovery. These *bunnen*, following Wace's *bornes*, are listed under **boune**.[65] Where this phrase occurs elsewhere in ME, however, the form used is included under **bounde** (n). Like the *AND*, the *OED* combines both forms in its entry **bound** (n 1). When considering the attestations for **bounde** alongside those of **boune**, the picture we gain of their combined currency in ME remains patchy. **Bounde** is amply attested in the later fourteenth century but before that is only found once, in the same manuscript of the *Ayenbite of Inwit* that also contained **boune** in the sense of 'cord'. It is also found in the Laud manuscript of *KA*. While this manuscript is dated to c1400, the text is thought to be from the very early fourteenth century (see 3.1).

KA presents similar information on the Pillars of Hercules, also using **bounde**. A total of six texts use **boune** or **bounde** to refer to them, particularly in relation to

---

episode which, in its English version, goes gradually from a very slow pace, with the description of the ceremonial at Arthur's coronation, to general turmoil' (*The Poem and Its Sources*, p. 72).

[63] In AF, forms with and without final <*n*> alternate into the thirteenth century, while forms without dominate in CF by 1150.

[64] The *AND* does not record any form of this word of the type used by Wace, i.e. *borne* (in both Arnold and Weiss, with no variants noted). Godefroy comments that the forms like <*bosne*> 'later' become <*borne*>, while the *FEW* (**bonita*) records various regional forms with <*r*>.

[65] Caligula, line 658; Wace, line 728.

Alexander the Great. The recurrent use of such a specific reference strongly suggests this was a relatively common phrase. That no more attestations survive should accordingly not be surprising: not every text will refer to these bounds and there is the alternative of referring to them using **pillar** 'pillar' or **post** (n 1) 'post', as *LB* does next in the same description. Whether the collocation had any familiarity in spoken as well as written language remains more dubious. The explanation provided in the following line might seem to indicate the word needed glossing, although this follows Wace in explaining what those bounds of Hercules were exactly:

> [...] Þa comen heo to þan bunnen
> þa Hercules makede; mid muchelen his strengðe
> þat weoren postes longe; of marmon stane stronge. (Caligula 658b–60)

The syntax in Laȝamon is more explicitly explanatory, but really Wace provides as much aid to the reader or listener:

> Des bornes que fist Herculés
> Unes colonnes k'il ficha,
> Ço fu uns signes k'il mustra
> U il aveit cez piliers mis. (728–32)

The sociocultural knowledge of what the bounds of Hercules are is here shared for the reader unfamiliar with this fact. This need not imply that the words used for it were unfamiliar and needed glossing themselves; but the converse does not follow either. In Otho, an almost identical explanation is given, but the word used instead of **boune** is **woninge** (ger.) 'dwelling, territory', of OE origin and with ample attestations before 1300, so clearly not in need of glossing.

Two other terms used in Caligula but not in Otho, **heue** (n 2 'cry') and **postel** (n1 'pillar'), have patchy attestations. Either this means that their use was discontinuous in ME, or it means their use was not recorded. It is hard to say anything definite about this and since it concerns only two terms it matters relatively little for my conclusions. Still, I can note that **heue** (n 2) is odd in that it is used in a sense that is not clearly indicated in the *AND*, 'trumpet blast'. As a noun it is attested in each period from 1300 (even if only in a later manuscript for 1300–1350). It is also onomatopoeic, which may have facilitated both comprehension and adoption of the word. **Postel**, used uniquely of the Pillars of Hercules, is attested between 1200–1250 and from 1350 onwards beside the use in Caligula (see Appendix 1). Besides the possible continuity, its use or at least the comprehensibility of the term may have been supported by **post**, which is used in the

equivalent line in Otho and has various early attestations. Lastly, **streit** (adj 'fierce') and **sailen** (v 1 'assail') are quite simply not attested before 1300 except in Caligula.

In conclusion, it may be said that the French-derived words used in Caligula but not in Otho are not numerous, and are either unusual but serve their purpose of adding a special touch or are amply attested and often have a Latin connection. This corresponds broadly to the pattern noted above for the terms found in both manuscript versions. More strikingly, it also comes very close to the conclusions drawn by Richard Dance in his study of the vocabulary of Old Norse (ON) origin in *LB*. Dance finds that most instances of words of ON origin used in *LB* are of just a few central terms of common stock, while here and there an obscure word is used 'for stylistic purposes', allowing Laȝamon's 'skills as a poet to flourish'. These rare words are prompted by rhyme or alliteration. This characterisation of the poet's style as represented by Caligula may now be extended to the text's vocabulary in general, including the French-derived lexis. This extension must be qualified, however, by noting that for words like **ariven** and **salteriun** Dance's description of words 'plucked out of obscurity' is far from certain.[66] For each of these terms there are hints of related forms which may have given Caligula's usage at least an echo of familiarity.

2.5 French Vocabulary Found in Otho

2.5.1 Words Attested in Each Period from 1200

Next to the twenty-eight French-derived words used in both versions, fifty-two more are present in the Otho version which have no parallel in Caligula. This number is significantly larger than the twelve French-derived words found in Caligula only. Half of these words are attested in other texts from at least 1200, in keeping with the patterns noted for both the shared vocabulary and that of Caligula. The attestations are found at least once per fifty-year period for fifteen of these (29%): **chaungen** 'to change', **chere** 'face, manner',[67] **failen** 'to fail', **fol** (adj 'foolish'), **folie** 'folly', **gile** 'guile', **grace** 'grace', **graunten** ('to grant', in a manuscript of c1300 of a text dated to c1225), **hardi**

[66] Dance, 'Interpreting Layamon,' pp. 196, 202.
[67] Clearly attested in Otho, the form in Caligula is emended in Brook and Leslie from *gareres* to [*ch*]*eres* (9449); Allen's translation follows them. Madden notes that the first letter in Caligula is on an erasure but gives the reading as *gareres*, glossed 'weeds' (18936). The *MED* includes the Caligula form in its entry for **gere** (n) 'clothing, appearance' as *gaeres*. Something may be said for both interpretations.

'hardy', **image** 'image', **messager** 'messenger', **paien** 'to pay', **pes** 'peace', **seuen** 'to follow', **strife** 'strife', and **tresour** 'treasure'. **Fol** and **folie** are another set of related forms, with one used in Caligula but both in Otho.

Most of these words are also found in Wace, though not usually in the same scene. The presence in the source combined with other contemporary attestations makes it notable that Caligula did not use them. We can see they were available to the redactors of both versions and even, probably, to Laȝamon. If he was writing in the early thirteenth century and the readings go back to him, then the use of these words is nearly contemporary to their first appearance in other texts. If an earlier date for the text's composition is favoured, the gap between the uses is a bit longer, but it is still probable that some of these words at least will have been used in ME at that time, because it would be improbable that all words first attested around 1225 suddenly appeared in ME at that moment.[68] The Anglo-Saxon vocabulary for these concepts is therefore used in Caligula out of choice, not necessity.

With regards to this, we must note that the words that are unique to Otho mostly occur once rather than forming the text's basic vocabulary. **Gile** is used twice in Otho (1597, 8175) to express a concept elsewhere referred to in both versions with e.g. **ginne**, **swike** (n 1 'traitor') and **ivel** 'evil' (usually spelled *vuele*). For example, at line 1597, Otho's **gile** is in the same line as Caligula's *vuele* in the scene where Gordoille receives Leir's letter asking for help. Both **ivel** and various forms of **swike** and **swiken** 'to betray' are used elsewhere in Otho, illustrating the Otho redactor's options. At the same time, the early attestations indicate that **gile** was not an unusual or new-fangled term, a factor which could otherwise have explained its avoidance in Caligula.

2.5.2 Words Attested 1200–1250 and after 1300

Chapele 'chapel', **fol** (n 'fool'), **passen** 'to pass', **prive** (adj 1 'private'), **route** (n 1 'pack, group') and **waiten** 'to wait' are attested in the *MED* between 1200 and 1250 and from 1300 onwards, but not between 1250 and 1300 (six out of the fifty-two French-derived words found only in Otho, or 12%). In this they are similar to **maumet** and **wasten** discussed above, and to **marble** (n and adj), attested *c.* 1150 and then after

[68] Many first attestations for this period are in the *Ancrene Wisse*, a text containing a relatively high number of French-derived words. See 4.3.2.

1300. For those, the attestation of related forms during the gap period was taken to be a sign that the use may have been continuous, or at least that the unattested form would have remained recognisable in English. Such forms are attested for **fol** (n), in the form of the adjective and related noun **folie** mentioned above. The collocation of *marbre stones*, corresponding to *marmon stane* in Caligula, represents the similar French form of an established word; with a single instance of the French form found as early as 1150, this is not too peculiar, but other attestations are only found from 1300, suggesting the French form to have been unusual in ME before that, although probably recognisable. Other indications are found for **waiten** and **chapele** in the form of actual attestations in manuscripts included in *LAEME* but not used for the *MED*. With the gap in attestations filled, their continuous use is likely.

Route (n 1) is attested twice in texts dated to 1250–1300 surviving only in later manuscripts, suggesting this word too was probably in continuous use in ME. In Otho it is used to describe a pack of wolves (1300), though the basic meaning in French up to the fifteenth century is of an armed band. Caligula has **wered** 'pack, troop', alliterating with the wolves whose pack it is. Notably, **wered** is not attested in the *MED* after 1325 and all recorded uses of the sense in Caligula may date back to 1150 or OE. Caligula is the only text recorded here to use the term for a pack of wolves. In fact, most uses refer to angelic hosts. Otho's **route** thus seems at least as logical a choice, certainly by the late thirteenth century. The term used in Wace is *assemblee* (line 1488); **assemble** (n) 'group, assembly' is attested in ME from 1300 and could have been available to the Otho redactor, but **route** with its longer surviving history of attested use was chosen. **Route** also had the special sense 'group of animals' in ME, while the *MED* records no such sense for **assemble**.[69]

The creation of compounds with a borrowed and an older native element is often taken as a sign of a word's integration in a language. I agree that it can be taken as evidence for the use of the element within the receiving language, but am cautious in drawing conclusions about the extent to which native speakers would recognise the

[69] The violent death of Menbriz is described in Wace with the seqence of verbs 'devoré [...] desmenbrez | E depescied e devorez' (1490–92). In *LB* there is alliteration of *wolues awedde* (1300), to which Caligula also adds *weored*, and *lupen*, *to-luken*, and *leomen* in lines 1301–02. We may be dealing with another case of Laȝamon's word play in these lines, this one dependent on bilingual competence, with *lupen* reminiscent of the *lous* Wace uses for the wolves. See note 53 above.

element as a new addition.[70] This is relevant for **prive** (adj 1), which is used in Otho as a compound, *priuemen*, apparently a calque on **gent privee** 'retinue, attendants', attested in the *AND* in 1174. The form is not recorded in other texts in the *MED*. It is used on one occasion, where Caligula has *heredmen* (**hired-man**) and Wace *sergant* 'servants'.[71] The evidence from related forms is less clear than for the examples discussed above, since **prive** (n 'privacy, privy') is also attested c1230 (in the same manuscript of the *Ancrene Riwle* as the adjective) but not again until after 1300 (in slightly later manuscripts). In addition the other adjectival form and the adverb are attested from 1300. The attested use of a range of grammatical forms suggests that these words were integrated, but the evidence is not strong. **Hired-man** 'retainer, gentleman' remained in use in ME. In this case, then, it is possible that the form in Otho was less current than that in Caligula. For these terms, it is possible they were in continuous use in the thirteenth century, but there are no unequivocal indications of this. Nevertheless, they do not seem to be very unusual terms.

2.5.3 Words Attested after 1300

The next group of words in Otho is first attested in the *MED* in other texts dated to between 1300 and 1350, with most closer to 1300. As in the previous section, several of these are attested in *LAEME* in thirteenth-century manuscripts. For example, **abbeie** 'abbey', **anoien** 'to annoy', **catel** 'chattel', **delaie** 'a delay' and **escapen** 'escape' (*ascape*) appear in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86 of the second half of the thirteenth century, while *aturn* is similar to **atir**, which appears in *Hali Meidenhad* of the early thirteenth century. **Fel** (adj 'fell') is found in the comparative (*fellere*) in MS Laud Misc. 108, dating to the late thirteenth or very early fourteenth century. **Contree** 'country' is attested both early and late in the thirteenth century, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 652 and the version of *Floris and Blauncheflur* in London, British

[70] Similarly, Durkin points out that Trotter has argued that such compounds in *Ancrene Wisse* 'may reflect the confident trilingualism of the author and the author's circle, who may have formed hybrid words on Romance bases with native affixes without there necessarily being prior borrowing of the base' (*Borrowed Words: A History of Loanwords in English* (Oxford: OUP, 2014), p. 285, referring to David Trotter, 'The Anglo-French lexis of *Ancrene Wisse*,' in *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse*, ed. by Yoko Wada (Cambridge: Brewer, 2003), pp. 83–102). This would not then imply that such compounds were more generally considered to be fully English, even if they were intelligible and saw use beyond that multilingual context.

[71] *LB*, line 3428; Wace, line 3627.

Library, Cotton Vitellius D.iii. Lastly, the currency of **rollen** 'to roll' may be estimated from the early appearance of **rolle** (n); found in two thirteenth-century *LAEME* texts, the noun is clearly related but rather different in sense to that of the verb in *LB*.

The remaining fifteen words, which are only attested after 1300, constitute 29% of the French-derived words found in Otho only. Given their appearance in other written texts of roughly the same period, it does not seem strange to find these words appearing in Otho. **Aspien** 'to spy', **chevetaine** 'chieftain', **crie** 'a cry', and **gisarme** 'gisarme, battle-axe' are found in manuscripts dated to between 1300 and 1350, in texts dated to between 1250–1300, so they too may go back to thirteenth-century usage. Similarly, **bitraien** 'to betray', **treuage**, and **scapen** 'to escape' are found in manuscripts from 1300 but in texts dated to between 1200 and 1300.

Arsoun 'saddlebow', **dolful** 'sorrowful', **gise** 'guise', **hostage** 'hostage', **park** 'a park', **pencel** 'banner', **pesen** 'to peace' and **rollen** are first attested between 1300 and 1350, with most closer to 1300. Attestations of a closely related form survive for **dolful**/**dol** (n 2), suggesting that **dolful** will have been recognisable or comprehensible, even if it did not yet see use itself. For other words there are no related forms, like **gisarme**. Of three of these, an equivalent or related form is found in Wace's *Brut*: **gise**, **hostage** and **dolful** (see Appendix 1).

Most are used only infrequently in Otho. For example, **aspien** is used just once, but alongside several uses of **spiere** 'spy'. The use of **aspien** in Otho can also be explained by considering which word Caligula uses at that point in the text. The form is *heoȝede*, of **houen** (v 1) 'think out, consider' (9848). This verb has several other attestations in the *MED*, but all in other senses, and the only two fourteenth-century occurrences are in the senses 'be distressed about' and 'shun'. The form may well have been archaic by 1300. Notably, *espier* is found in Wace at this point in the narrative, as the Saxons send men to find a way to kill Uther, with success (8966).

Do these last few words, then, form the innovative aspect of Otho compared to Caligula? A flood of French-derived appears first in ME texts dated to between 1300 and 1350, often in several texts at around the same time. The implication of this simultaneous appearance is that they had been in use in spoken English for some time. While they may have been less integrated than words already attested in written texts by 1200, they are unlikely to represent very novel terms by 1300.[72] Otho's occasional use

[72] This explanation and its implications are discussed in 4.5.

of these terms shows a greater willingness than Caligula to use vocabulary that may have still been recognisably French-derived, but would have held very few problems for its possible audiences, including monolingual speakers of English.

2.5.4 Words Attested after 1300 with Gaps in Attestations

Only a few French-derived words in Otho have seemingly more problematic attestations (seven out of fifty-two, or 13%). There are gaps in the attestations of **cheisil** 'linen', which is attested in a number of manuscripts in the early fourteenth century, some of late thirteenth-century texts, but not between 1350 and 1400. This range of uses suggests the word was in use by the late thirteenth century. In an additional indirect indication, the use of the OF form **chainsil** in Marie de France, recorded in Godefroy, must through the circulation of her texts have ensured the word reached England by the end of the twelfth century already, even if not yet in English use. Finally, **alasken '**to relieve', **cloke** 'cloak', **scarmuchen** 'to skirmish' and **spiere** 'a spy' are only attested in texts considerably later than Otho. The use of **spiere** in Otho is not remarkable, however: apart from Otho it is attested in each fifty-year period from 1350 onward and its related forms, like **aspien** which is also used in Otho, are attested in multiple earlier texts. The competing noun form, **spie**, is attested in texts dating to c1250. In addition, **spiere** is attested as a byname in the same period as Otho.

By contrast, the form used in Caligula, **haure** 'spy', of OE origin, is found only in Caligula according to the *MED* attestations. Understandably, then, there is a consistent pattern of usage in Otho: on three occasions the word is found in lines where Caligula uses **haure** (746, 748, 13057). In the other cases where Caligula employs **haure**, the equivalent line in Otho is missing or damaged (9799, 13415, 13551, 15206). In several cases, the scene in Wace uses *espie* or a related verb form (11626, 12101).

The next word is less clearly attested than **spiere**, but may still have been familiar. Before its use in Otho, **cloke** (n 1) is attested in the *MED* only in a Latin law case document as 'unum cloke radiatum', the context giving no indication whether the item is French or English. After Otho, it is only attested in the late fourteenth century. The *OED* etymological note points out it is a doublet of **clock** 'bell', being named so after the shape; **clokke** 'clock, bell' in the *MED* is not attested before 1370, though the *OED* gives a single, probably isolated, OE use in several manuscripts of Bede (*DOE* **clugge**).

As has been found for other French-derived words in Otho, **cloke** is used only once, where Caligula uses **cope** 'cape', from Latin **coppa**. In other cases where Caligula uses **cope**, that form is used in Otho as well, like at 14752, except for two instances where the lines in Otho are damaged or not there at all. **Cope** is frequently attested in ME, going back to OE **cop**. Clearly, the Otho redactor had no problem with using **cope**, so far leaving us without explanation for the single use of **cloke**.

Nor can **cloke** be traced to the equivalent scene in Wace, which differs interestingly from that in Laȝamon's versions. Vortigern is fetching Constance from his monastery to be made king. In Wace, he 'de chiers dras le [Constanz] revesti' (6524), dressing Constance in richer apparel than his monk's robes. In Laȝamon's versions, Vortigern who is once again 'ȝep and war' (6536) takes the cloak of one of his knights to disguise Constance so he can be smuggled out of the abbey: 'he nam one cloke of his one cnihte' (6537). There is no reference to this ruse, or the need for it, in Wace.

With neither the ME attestations nor the context and source helping out to understand the appearance of **cloke**, there is an interesting quotation in the *AND* entry **cloke** from Walter de Bibbesworth's *Trétiz* of *c.* 1250: 'Mon surkete & ma cloke', glossed as *sourkote* and *cloke*. Most glosses in the *Trétiz* (on which see 1.2) are clearly distinct from the AF form, but there are other cases besides *cloke* where a very similar form is considered sufficiently explanatory, like 'affeblist (ME febelez)', 'Ma bours (ME pourse)', and 'mareis (ME maris)'. Perhaps these offer assurance to the reader that the meaning is indeed the one they know. For the audience of the *Trétiz*, **cloke** was thus assumed to be a familiar word, and may have been in use as an English word by the time it was written in Otho, though the evidence is inconclusive and the word's spread beyond the language use of bilingual speakers is unclear.

In this it may be different from the next apparently rare form found in Otho, which was probably comprehensible to monolingual English speakers even if distinctly odd: Otho's *sceremigge*, used once where Caligula has *scurmen*, a form of **skirmen** 'to fence, skirmish' (4061). Both are used to describe the playful fight turned fatal between Herigal and Auelin. Caligula uses **skirmen** at one other point, in a subsequent scene with reported speech that repeats the actions just described, not present in Otho, which typically does not contain such repetitive detail (4192). In the first scene, Wace's text uses the related OF verb three times (4348, 4350, 4355). The form in Caligula is thus of

the same verb as in Wace, while Otho uses a rarer variant that is very similar apart from the final consonant.

Early forms of the verb **scarmuchen** 'skirmish' derive from OF **escarmucher** and/or **escarmuche** 'léger engagement entre les tirailleurs de 2 armées' (Godefroy, cited in the *FEW* entry ***skirmjan**), which is of problematic origin but probably arose in OF from the same root as **eskermir** 'to skirmish', a Germanic element meaning 'shield, defense'. **Eskermir** is attested from the twelfth century and the ME form, **skirmen**, is attested in several thirteenth-century texts, including Caligula. **Escarmucher** is later in OF, with the noun attested by the close of the thirteenth century (also in German) and the verb only in the fourteenth century (*FEW*, Godefroy). Quotations in the *AND*, under **eskirmiger** and **escarmuche**, are mid- to late-fourteenth century. ME **scarmuchen** is attested regularly in the fifteenth century, with a few texts from the later fourteenth century. The form used in Otho, *sceremigge*, is also included, however, forming a lone early use in the various languages. It is also peculiar in that early forms of noun and verb contain an <*u*> in the various languages, with forms in <*i*> being later.[73]

The *OED* provides a different explanation for the form in Otho, following an emendation present in Madden's glossarial remarks but not in Brook and Leslie.[74] It includes the form as a noun **skirming** within the entry for **skirmen**, attested also in *Havelok* and *KA*, by saying 'sceremigge [*read* -inge]'. This solution must be considered correct given that <-*igge*> is a well-attested form of the gerund in early ME, including elsewhere in Otho.[75]

In addition, when considering Otho as produced in the very early fourteenth century, the gap between this form and the later verb forms is smaller. In all, this form, however peculiar in its specifics and compared to that of Caligula, is close to both forms of **skirmen** and to the noun **scarmuche**, attested from the later fourteenth century. Whether or not it was just a form of **skirmen** and whether or not **scarmuche** 'skirmish' and **scarmuchen** were in use in the early fourteenth century, *sceremigge* is unlikely to

[73] The *MED* etymology suggests **scarmuchen** in part derives from an extended stem *eskermiss-* of **eskermir** (to take the AF forms), which could explain forms in <*i*>. This option is not discussed in the *FEW* entry.
[74] Madden comments that '*sceremigge* is written for *sceremingge*, or for the inf. *sceremi*' (III, p. 477, note to his line 8144).
[75] For example, *wonigge* for **woninge** (ger), used where Caligula has *bunnen*; see 2.4. On this spelling, see also the entry 'Orthographic Remapping of Velar Nasal' (ORVN) in the *Corpus of Narrative Etymologies* by Roger Lass, Margaret Laing and Rhona Alcorn, with webscripts by Keith Williamson (University of Edinburgh: 2013 to present), < http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/CoNE/CoNE.html> [accessed January 2016].

have caused trouble to comprehension. To what extent it would have appeared French in the early fourteenth century is open to speculation, however.

Turning to the final apparently rare word that is found in Otho but not in Caligula, **alasken** 'relieve' is an interesting case. It is used just once in Otho, like many of the French-derived words found only in this version. Androgeus expresses his wish to help Cassibelaunus and relieve him of his care (4408). Caligula's *lutlien* (**litelen** 'make little') is amply attested in ME, providing no motive for Otho's use of **alasken**. In the *MED* there is only one other attestation of **alasken**, in Lanfranc's *Science of cirurgie* of a1400. In that text the sense is slightly different, given as 'to reduce' in the *MED*.

However, the verb **lasken** 'weaken, alleviate, reduce' is attested before 1400 in the *Ancrene Riwle* (c1230) and in *William of Palerne* (a1375). The two verbs derive from OF **eslachier** 'release, loosen, diminish' and **lascher** 'loosen, free, relieve' (*AND*), respectively, two variants of the same form.[76] These verbs, attested in the twelfth century in the *AND*, are not in Wace in this scene (4726–65).[77] The *AND* further points to a relation to **eslaissier** 'set free', derived from Latin **laxare** and thus ultimately related to (**es**)**lascher** as form resulting from **laxicare**. The central original meaning to this word group is that of being 'loose'.

In ME there does not appear to be a form derived from **eslaissier**. This may be explained by the existence and widely attested use in ME of a number of verbs of Germanic origin in this sense, many found also in both versions of *LB*. Several of these are remarkably similar in phonological form. On the one hand, there are several verbs with meanings 'release' or 'free': **lesen** (v 5), **alesen** (v 1), **losen** (v 3), **losnen** and **lethen**. In addition, a meaning 'assuage', 'comfort' or 'relieve' like that of (**a**)**lasken** is present in **alesen** (v 1) and **lethen** and yet two other verbs, **lessen** and **lissen**. The negative aspect of being freed of something, 'to lose', is present in **losen** (v 2) and **alesen** (v 2). These verbs derive from a range of OE words and are not all etymologically related, certainly not to **alasken** and **lasken**. Regardless of this, the crucial combination of phonological and semantic similarity could have led to the association of this general phonological shape with meanings of the type 'to free', 'to loosen', and 'to relieve', which in turn could have been associated with the variants of

[76] See the *OED* etymological notes at **alaski** (v) and **lache** (v) and the discussion of **laxicare** in the *FEW*.
[77] Instead, Wace uses the near synonym but unrelated verb **atemprer** (line 4732).

lasker in the two languages, certainly among bilingual speakers.[78] Yet another word of related meaning is further removed from **lesen** etc. but may also have been associated with (**a**)**lasken**: **slaken** (v 1) 'to loosen' is attested from OE (*DOE* **a-slacian**) and also occurs in Otho, but not in Caligula, and with the relevant sense 'assuage, slake'.

What this means is that the sum of attestations for this concentration of associated forms can suggest that forms of **lasken** and **alasken** may have appeared familiar, even if these two words were not known with their exact sense. We cannot exclude the possibility that they were rare when the Otho redactor chose **alasken**, but within the soundscape of ME, *alaski* is more likely to have been simply strange than acutely problematic for a monolingual English audience, particularly in the context in which it is used. Seeing or hearing 'alaski him of care' is not unidentifiably far from an alternative like 'alesen him of care'.[79]

The small group of words studied in this section constitute the rare element of the French-derived vocabulary found in Otho only. They are unusual forms. As seen for many other French-derived words in *LB*, however, several of them will not have been as rare as they might first appear, and the few that remain inexplicable are insufficient reason to characterise the language of Otho as strangely French. In fact, about as many

[78] The process as envisaged here would be similar to the merger or discontinued use of words because of homonymic associations as discussed by John Orr. Certainly the forms of **alesen** etc. and (**a**)**lasken** are not homonyms; however, Orr's examples are less strict than his term homonymics may suggest. In the case of (**a**)**lasken**, no form of which became strongly established in ME or survived into Modern English, the formal similarity and consequent association may either have been too weak to allow merger or to provide a problem for the position of *alesen* and the other forms. See the various articles on the topic in John Orr, *Words and Sounds in English and French*, Modern Language Studies, ed. by J. Boyd and J. Seznec (Oxford: Blackwell, 1953); John Orr, *Three Studies on Homonymics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1962); and Yakov Malkiel, 'Problems in the Diachronic Differentiation of Near-Homophones,' *Language* 55.1 (March 1979), 1–36. William Rothwell has warned against overrelying on homonymics as explanation in historical linguistics, stressing the need to check the chronologies of the changes involved very carefully; in my examples here, the contemporaneous use of the various forms is evident. See his 'Homonymics and Medieval French,' *Archivum Linguisticum* 14.1 (1962), 35–48. The avoidance of words due to homonymic association, i.e. homonymic clash, has faced criticism as having limited explanatory power in tracing language change. For an overview of such criticism, see Philip Durkin, *The Oxford Guide to Etymology* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), pp. 88–93. On homonymic clash, Durkin points out that while in some cases this is evident, very often it is hard to assert empirically because a) many other words in similar situations do not show this effect and b) the changes can usually also be explained by regular processes such as analogy and merger. He further points to the only very limited acceptance of the phenomenon and general attack on its explanatory power in historical linguistics by Roger Lass, in *On Explaining Language Change* (Cambridge: CUP, 1980), pp. 75–78 and *Historical Linguistics and Language Change*, Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 81 (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), p. 355. Homonymic clash is not the process I suggest as relevant to *alaski*, where it is instead the association that matters; Durkin would for such cases prefer referring to analogy or merger.

[79] This form of **alesen** (v 1) is found in Caligula, line 544, where Otho has *a-readde*, a form of **areddan** 'save, set free', found often in both versions of *LB* but not attested in manuscripts produced after 1300. The other occurrence of that spelling in Caligula is at 4562, not far from Otho's *alaski*. At that point Otho has *alese*, the only occurrence of that verb in Otho.

rare French-derived terms are found here as in Caligula, with its supposed avoidance of that language and its associated culture.

2.6 Conclusion

The great majority of French-derived words used in *LB*, which survives in manuscripts dated to the late thirteenth century, also appear in other texts from that time and/or earlier texts and thus their use in *LB* seems natural. Few demands are placed on the reader in terms of knowledge of French. In Caligula a number of rare forms appears and may be used for literary effect, much like the rare ON vocabulary identified by Richard Dance. For these to be appreciated, some knowledge of French would be needed, so that such knowledge is implied for at least some in the intended audience. However, most of these terms would still have been familiar or recognisable in some way. Turning to the vocabulary of Otho, a good proportion of the terms that are introduced in that version of the text were probably current in the earliest part of the thirteenth century as well. Most are used just once or twice in Otho, alongside other forms also found in Caligula. Those few words consistently used in Otho correspond to a form in Caligula that lacks other attestations in later ME.

Cannon emphasised that the 'vocabulary of substitution' that got rid of the archaic, Anglo-Saxon elements was often of Anglo-Saxon extraction itself, highlighting the difference between etymology and cultural association. It merely differed in its associations and connotations, being either neutral or more reminiscent of the genre of romance. To this I can add that the difference in lexis can also be found in the use in Otho of well-integrated French-derived vocabulary. That point in itself may not be new, but it is confirmed here with linguistic contextual detail showing that this vocabulary was probably accessible to Laȝamon and certainly to both compilers.

For if we consider Laȝamon to have been writing in the early thirteenth century, then most of the words used in Otho will probably have been at his disposal already. For an earlier date of composition they may have been less common yet; the dearth of surviving sources before 1200 (with even fewer published) makes this difficult to determine. However, it is not likely that all of these words appeared suddenly around 1225 without earlier written or spoken usage and for some we know they had longer histories of attestations already. Certainly the Caligula compiler would have and their

absence in Caligula was the result of a conscious choice. Otho's compiler, meanwhile, used that which it was normal to use.

Consequently, the difference between Caligula and Otho, whichever one sees as having come first or as being closer to Laȝamon's text, is one of choice. In both versions of *LB*, the French-derived vocabulary would have been integrated in ME, barring a few exceptions, so that it would be wrong to speak of it as a foreign element. In fact it is Caligula in which the most striking French words are used, alongside those Anglo-Saxon elements scholars have found so notable. Otho, in the meanwhile, cannot be said for the French-derived lexis to be 'substituting' with any kind of consistency, as was Cannon's key point for the native words in his study: most of the French-derived vocabulary found in that version of *LB* only is used just once, terms similar to those in Caligula being used at other times.

Caligula is more willing than Otho to extend linguistic norms, including unusual items of Anglo-Saxon, ON, and French origin. The latter are few, however, so that we interestingly find an association between extension of the norm and a low number of French elements. This reminds us that the creative development of a ME literary language did not have one single direction involving ever increasing degrees of French-derived vocabulary.

Chapter 3: English, French and the Exotic: Audience and Vocabulary in *Kyng Alisaunder*

3.1 Introduction

Having examined the French-derived vocabulary in Laȝamon's *Brut*, I now turn to another ME text that is roughly contemporary with the Otho version of *LB*. The romance *Kyng Alisaunder*, occasionally referred to as *King Alexander*, runs to just over 8000 lines. Its vocabulary, in strong contrast to that of *LB*, has been commented on as particularly French, including many rare terms and occasional brief moments of direct speech in French itself. *KA* tells the story of Alexander the Great's life and conquests, including a lengthy account of the marvels of the East. The ME text is a translation of the thirteenth-century AF *Roman de toute chevalerie* (*RTC*) attributed to Thomas of Kent, supplemented with a range of other texts for occasional detail.[1] It survives whole or in part in four manuscript versions. The version in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 622, a manuscript of around 1400, is considered the best witness to the text due to its completeness and generally good readings, most of which are likely to go back to the authorial version of *c.* 1300.[2]

By contrast, the version in London, Lincoln's Inn MS 150, copied in the early fifteenth century, has been called 'very corrupt', as much of the notable and unusual vocabulary found in other versions was changed, sometimes producing apparently unintelligible forms.[3] The date of the revision puts the Lincoln's Inn *KA* well outside of my period of interest, the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Consequently, I do not consider this version in what follows. Leaving without comment an early sixteenth-century six-leaf fragment contained in *The Bagford Ballads* as too late and small to be

[1] Smithers, II, p. 15ff. The source text is quoted from Foster. *KA* is written in four-stress rhyming couplets, a verse form quite different from the alexandrines of the *RTC*. See Foster, vol. II, pp. 24–29. One alexandrine is often rendered by a couplet in *KA*, though *KA* frequently elaborates or presents different information (and see 3.3.1 and 5.3.2 on the difficulty of comparing extant versions of the *RTC* with *KA*).

[2] Smithers, II, pp. 8–11.

[3] In his edition, Smithers even suggests that the Lincoln's Inn version (L) may at one point have been transmitted orally and that the manuscript itself may have been a minstrel's copy (II, pp. 8 and 11–13). This view is rejected in Simon Horobin and Alison Wiggins, 'Reconsidering Lincoln's Inn Ms 150,' *Medium Ævum* 77:1 (2008), 30–53. They argue that in keeping with revisions to other texts in this manuscript, the language of *KA* was made to fit the more usual register of romance for an audience which probably favoured that genre, by a redactor who knew what he was doing at least in general terms. The fifteenth century also seems rather late for an argument of oral transmission, like the idea of a minstrel's copy; but see 1.3.

of interest for my enterprise,[4] we are left with another fragmentary version of more interest. NLS MS Advocates' 19.2.1, known as the Auchinleck manuscript, contains a version of *KA* of which just over a thousand lines survive.[5] Despite the fragmentary nature of this version, it is relevant to my study because it provides early textual evidence for *KA*: the manuscript was produced around 1330 and can confirm which French aspects found in the text's language derive from the first half of the fourteenth century.

This matters since I am considering the role of French in ME of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, before either this linguistic element or ME literature had become as established as it had by the late fourteenth century. Frequently we have to speculate about the date of specific linguistic aspects in a text if it survives only in manuscripts later than we know the text itself to be. In this case, there is at least some material for comparison. The Auchinleck version is not an autograph. Consequently, the conclusions from that comparison do not necessarily reflect the *KA* author's usage. The surviving fragments of Auchinleck are relatively close to the version preserved in Laud Misc. 622, with the other versions more distant, which suggests that the authorial version will have been similar. Smithers considers Auchinleck 'of moderate quality' (listing confusing readings in footnotes) but points out lines where it has what he considers the better reading to Lincoln's Inn 150, and occasionally to Laud Misc. 622.[6] Before taking the language of Laud Misc. 622 as evidence for early fourteenth-century English, then, a more detailed comparison of the two versions is needed, which follows in 3.1.4.

My study of *KA* bases its conclusions on the ways in which the text employs French elements and their sociocultural connotations for literary effect, in an interplay of the differences between the versions surviving in the Auchinleck and Laud Misc. 622

[4] On this fragment, see Smithers, II, pp. 6–8, 13.
[5] Several leaves that were originally part of the Auchinleck *KA* have been found in bindings, referred to as the St. Andrews and London fragments. Smithers' edition includes the St. Andrews fragments. The London leaves were found after it was published and are discussed briefly and published in G. V. Smithers, 'Another Fragment of the Auchinleck MS,' in *Medieval Literature and Civilization, Studies in Memory of G. N. Garmonsway,* ed. by D. A. Pearsall and R. A. Waldron (London: Athlone Press, 1969), pp. 192–210. The entire Auchinleck manuscript, including all that survives of its *KA*, was edited and published as *The Auchinleck Manuscript*, ed. by David Burnley and Alison Wiggins (National Library of Scotland: 5 July 2003), <http://www.nls.uk/auchinleck/>. Thea Summerfield puts the total surviving number of lines, based on this edition, at 1340, though not all are fully legible. See '"And She Answered in Hir Language": Aspects of Multilingualism in the Auchinleck Manuscript,' in *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain c. 1066–1520*, ed. by Ad Putter and Judith A. Jefferson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 241–58 (p. 255, n. 41).
[6] II, pp. 8–9.

manuscripts, as those would have affected the early fourteenth-century audience. The position of this chapter in my thesis is therefore based on the date of the Auchinleck manuscript vis-à-vis the dates of the manuscripts of *LB* and *HS*. The idea of an authorial version, while useful in comparing manuscripts and considering their relations, is of little purpose in considering reception, since we know virtually nothing of its context, in contrast to that of the surviving manuscript versions.

In light of both the long-term multilingual situation sketched in 1.2 and the international and growing prestige of French culture, driven by Henry II's court (see 1.4.2.2), it was deemed important to include a text representing a type of ME with notable French elements. For this, *KA* is highly suitable: its French element has often been noted, though it had not yet seen systematic study, and both Smithers' edition and several studies provide a starting point for analysis. The absence of a concordance (and selective nature of Smithers' glossary) limits the possibilities for analysis within the scope of this thesis. However, I was able to build on an analysis of the rare French-derived vocabulary and rhyme tags in *KA* in my MSc dissertation. The existence of the Auchinleck fragments also allows at least tentative conclusions about the sociocultural implications of French in ME of *c.* 1300, although a full early copy would have been more valuable.

3.1.1 Auchinleck and Englishness

Besides setting the text firmly in the early fourteenth century and offering contemporary linguistic information, *KA*'s survival in Auchinleck also connects the text to a sizeable critical literature on this manuscript. Much of this attention concentrates on studying the manuscript as propagating an English identity that centrally involves the use of English rather than French as literary language. This critical discourse can benefit from a better understanding of the use and representation of these two languages both in general and within Auchinleck's texts, such as my examination of the French element in *KA* offers. The following overview of the manuscript's scholarly reception positions the findings of the remainder of this chapter.

As an important witness to early ME literature, Auchinleck has garnered a lot of critical attention. Ralph Hanna's study on early fourteenth-century London manuscripts goes so far as to call the manuscript 'inescapable' even though he considers many other

manuscripts equally or more interesting.[7] Few manuscripts of the period can currently boast several book-length studies in addition to numerous chapters and articles, particularly those containing popular romances.

The manuscript's main claim to attention is the combination of its size, date and monolingual nature. At a date when ME texts usually appeared in multilingual compilations and complete manuscripts in ME were infrequent, Auchinleck is an expensive and expansive volume that (with minor exceptions) contains only ME texts.[8] Within early literary histories of England, this made it a flagship of the resurgence of a native English literary tradition after the 'dark' period that followed the Norman Conquest. Dark is here taken to mean a period in which we have no evidence of the circulation of major literary texts in English, in contrast to Latin and AF, despite the appearance of manuscripts containing only ME texts as early as the late twelfth century.

In addition, the texts Auchinleck contains suggest its compilers were exploring the idea of a sense of English identity, and probably conceived of its audience as interested in this, whether or not prompted by the person who had asked for the compilation. Taken together, these two features have led to a particular interest in the manuscript within discussions of the rise of English national identity, or a sense of Englishness (a more neutral but no more specific term), in post-Conquest England. More generally, it has been argued that early ME romances of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries form a group of texts engaged in constructing a narrative of England as a nation. A significant body of literary criticism espouses this view, with varying degrees of awareness of the problems involved in applying the term and concept of nationalism in medieval Britain (see 1.4.2).

For example, Thorlac Turville Petre's *England the Nation* argues that Auchinleck engages in a conscious and consistent 'Englishing' of its texts, compared to other manuscript versions, and links this to a nascent link between the English language and the rise of national sentiment. This link is noteworthy because, in general, medieval national identities did not include the strong association with a single language as do

[7] Ralph Hanna, 'Reconsidering the Auchinleck Manuscript,' in *New Directions in Later Medieval Manuscript Studies*, ed. by Derek Pearsall (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), pp. 91–102 (p. 91). A later version of this paper, in which this observation is absent, is included in Ralph Hanna, *London Literature, 1300–1380* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005).
[8] See below, note 26.

modern ones (see 1.4).[9] Such interpretations must also confront the problem that the AF sources of these ME texts show almost identical prejudices.[10] We must certainly view the sociolinguistic implications of the formulation of English identity differently if it can be expressed in either French or English, as well as its supposed link to the use of English in Auchinleck. The manuscript demonstrates the interest in and the market for written literature in English in the early fourteenth century, which cannot be easily equated with a modern concept of national identity.[11]

The Auchinleck manuscript is now recognised to have been compiled as a bespoke volume in a 'fits and starts mode of production', with texts commissioned every now and then and according to availability, rather than having been designed as a grand unified volume.[12] Consequently, in drawing conclusions about the design and intent of the volume as a whole we must not read too much into its collection of texts. What we may conclude concerns the general interests of those (one or several) who ordered copies of the texts. These interests seem to have included concerns with what it meant to be English. What eventually became the complete manuscript would to subsequent readers have presented these concerns in a coherent form.

Chapter 6 returns to the issue of Englishness in relation to French elements in *KA*. For now, it is clear that given this proposed link between language and identity the representation of French in the manuscripts' texts more generally is of interest to studies of its meanings. It is this aspect that I examine for *KA*.

---

[9] Thorlac Turville-Petre, *England the Nation: Language, Literature and National Identity, 1290–1340* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996). The connection between the Auchinleck tail-rhyme romances and Englishness is also argued for in chapter 4 of Rhiannon Purdie, *Anglicising Romance: Tail-rhyme and Genre in Medieval English Literature*, Studies in Medieval Romance 9 (Cambridge: Brewer, 2008).

[10] Cf. Siobhain Bly Calkin, *Saracens and the Making of English Identity: The Auchinleck Manuscript* (New York and London: Routledge, 2005) and Jacqueline de Weever, review of *Saracens and the Making of English Identity: The Auchinleck Manuscript*, *Arthuriana* 22.3 (Fall 2012), 91–92.

[11] Both interest and market are determined by the extent to which those with the money to commission or purchase manuscripts are able and willing to understand texts in French. On the sociolinguistic situation in early fourteenth-century England, see 1.2.

[12] The production of the manuscript has been subject of a vigorous discussion, beginning with Laura Hibbard Loomis' bookshop theory, which argued that the Auchinleck manuscript is evidence of the early existence of professional London bookshops (see Laura Hibbard Loomis, 'The Auchinleck Manuscript and a Possible London Bookshop of 1330–1340,' *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 57 (1942), 595–627). The current dominant critical view is that the manuscript is the eventual result of a more ad hoc process in which a main scribe produced the bulk of the volume, engaging the work of other scribes where necessary (see e.g. Hanna, *London Literature*, pp. 75–76, or the succinct summary in Christopher Cannon, 'Chaucer and the Auchinleck Manuscript Revisited,' *The Chaucer Review* 46.1–2 (2011), 131–46).

3.1.2 The Position of 'Kyng Alisaunder'

Central in interpretations of the manuscript that involve English identity are those romances that deal with the Matter of England, such as the ancestral romances *Guy of Warwick* and *Bevis of Hamptoun*, the chivalric romance *Of Arthour and Merlin* (*AM*), with its much-quoted prologue on the suitability of English as literary language, and *King Richard*. The latter is unusually harsh towards the French; the reasons for this may of course relate to the text's subject matter instead of the choice to use English instead of French.[13] All of these are, again, translations from French, with the originals of *Guy* and *Beuves* written for AF patrons and the source of *AM*, the *Estoire de Merlin*, made for a continental French thirteenth-century audience, so that studies of the relation between language and identity as expressed in these texts must consider closely the extent to which features seen as expressions of English identity were already present in the source.[14] *KA*'s remote oriental setting would seem to distance it from the manuscript's interest in English identity. It has consequently not been considered much in studies of the manuscript, also because of its fragmentary survival.[15] However, there is good reason to include the text in considering the issue of English identity and the topic often associated with it of the roles of French and English around 1300.

For Turville-Petre, the presence of *KA* in Auchinleck meant that English heroes such as Arthur and Richard the Lionheart stood shoulder to shoulder with Alexander the Great.[16] Here, care must be taken not to take Arthur's modern unproblematic Englishness for the full medieval image, given the varied uses he was put to between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. For example, Angevin monarchs favoured him as

[13] On the prologue to *AM*, see Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, ed., *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280–1520*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999). On *King Richard*, see Suzanne Conklin Akbari, 'The Hunger for National Identity in "Richard Coer de Lion"', in *Reading Medieval Culture: Essays in Honor of Robert W. Hanning*, ed. by Robert M. Stein and Sandra Pierson Prior (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 2005), pp. 198–230. Akbari notes that most attention to this text in recent years has centred on national identity.

[14] *Of Arthur and Merlin*, 2 vols, ed. by O.D. Macrae-Gibson, EETS o.s. 268, 279 (London: EETS, 1973–1979).

[15] *King Richard*, however, also survives as a fragment in Auchinleck. Its first thousand lines are present, after which many leaves are missing. Nevertheless, it has received more attention in discussions of the manuscript than *KA*, presumably because of the interest in its subject matter and representation of English-French relations. Hanna's focus on manuscript studies leads him to refer to *KA*, though not in detail, in *London Literature*. Cf. the brief mention in Calkin, p. 7.

[16] *England the Nation*, p. 115. References on the association of Alexander and English heroes are given in Charles Russell Stone, ''Many man he shal do woo': Portents and the End of an Empire in *Kyng Alisaunder*,' *Medium Ævum* 81:1 (2012), 18–40 (p. 36, n. 4).

hero. Most problematic for the English was the fact that Arthur was a Celt, who held back the Anglo-Saxon invasion.[17]

More importantly, *KA* falls into a tradition of romances dealing with classical or oriental subject matter with a strong tradition of serving as mirrors for the reader. The proem to *KA* includes the statement that 'Oþere mannes liif is oure shewer' (18), for example. The Alexander tradition in particular has been recognised as serving a moral purpose.[18] By the later fourteenth century, this is also apparent from the manuscript context of *KA*, as in Laud it is accompanied by religious works.[19]

In fact, a distant setting could facilitate the discussion of problematic themes. Christopher Baswell argues that the distant setting of *KA* and other classical romances, in both time and space, creates 'an imaginative space in which extreme and sometimes deeply anxious versions of human identity (religious, political, genealogical) might play out, along with critiques of imperial ambition and cupidity'. This exploration of the past 'as a site of terrors encountered, but conquered and assimilated' merges with a use of the past as source for 'wonder and delight'.[20] These themes could be of general import or be concerned with specific historical situations that were playing out at the time a specific version of a text was composed.[21] A collection of texts investigating contemporary social and political realities could therefore relevantly include works with a classical or oriental setting. From another angle, modern scholars interested in the representation of the East and issues of identity and alterity have taken an interest in both texts with Saracen encounters and classical texts, including the Alexander

[17] On this problem in relation to the Arthurian section of *LB*, see 2.1.
[18] Alexander's life was transmitted in two originally separate textual traditions (historical/religious and popular/romance) that had become intertwined by the fourteenth century. See George Cary, *The Medieval Alexander* (Cambridge: CUP, 1956), pp. 246–47. On the development of Alexander's relation with God in the secular tradition, see Cary, pp. 163–223. Where some later romances condemn Alexander for his pride, like Chrétien de Troyes, others like *Perceforest* pre-Christianise him. The *RTC* offers a mixed portrayal of Alexander inherited by *KA* (Stone, p. 20).
[19] See Smithers, II, p. 8ff. and Nicole Clifton, '*Kyng Alisaunder* and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 622,' *Journal of the Early Book Society for the Study of Manuscripts and Printing History* 18 (2015), 29–49.
[20] Christopher Baswell, 'England's Antiquities: Middle English Literature and the Classical Past', in *A Companion to Medieval English Literature and Culture, c. 1350–c. 1500*, ed. by Peter Brown (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 231–46 (p. 239, 242).
[21] Such a historically specific interpretation of a number of Alexander texts including *KA* is given, albeit briefly, in Stephan Kohl, 'Fremdheitserfahrung in mittelenglischen Alexandertexten,' in *Fremderfahrung in Texten des Spätmittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Günter Berger and Stephan Kohl (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1993), pp. 47–58. Kohl highlights the interest in heterodoxy and heterogeneity in *KA*.

tradition.[22] As discussed in chapter 6, the formulation of identity frequently takes the form of distinguishing that which is Other.

KA is thus of interest for discussions of the meanings suggested by Auchinleck both as a Matter of Antiquity romance and as inheritor of the dual Alexander tradition. Given the interest within that discussion in the use of English versus French as literary language related to the expression of Englishness, my examination of French elements in *KA* provides relevant input.

3.1.3 Auchinleck, French and the Study of 'Kyng Alisaunder'

Up to here I have drawn attention to two aspects of the Auchinleck manuscript that make it stand out among manuscripts of its period: its bringing together of an exceptional number of ME texts, with a focus on romances, and its interest in English identity. I should now note that it is unique in neither, with Auchinleck's true remarkability lying in the combination. Other early manuscripts like MS Laud Misc. 108 and Cambridge, University Library MS Gg.4.27 (2) also contain only ME texts, including romances. Calkin notes that neither of these, in the form in which they survive, shows as consistent an interest in English identity, but some of the texts they contain, like *Havelok*, present particular constructions of English identity.[23] In another parallel, Ralph Hanna has pointed to contemporary manuscripts with AF romances that are very similar in terms of layout and process of production.[24] It is mainly in their linguistic choices that these differ from Auchinleck.[25]

---

[22] Two such studies that discuss *KA* are Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2009) and Anna Czarnowus, *Fantasies of the Other's Body in Middle English Oriental Romance* (New York: Peter Lang, 2013).

[23] Calkin, pp. 208–10; *The texts and contexts of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108: The shaping of English vernacular narrative*, ed. by Kimberly K. Bell and Julie Nelson Couch (Leiden: Brill, 2011). Here too the earliest known versions of the texts involved are in French.

[24] Hanna, *London Literature*, and 'Reconsidering,' p. 98. Another interestingly similar manuscript of the same period, produced in a similar manner though in a very different context, is the sizeable and significant manuscript The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 129 A 10, known as the *Lancelot* compilation, which contains exclusively Middle Dutch Arthurian romances. On the manuscript's production, see B. Besamusca, 'Cyclification in Middle Dutch Literature: The Case of the *Lancelot* Compilation,' in *Cyclification: The Development of Narrative Cycles in the Chansons de Geste and the Arthurian Romances*, ed. by B. Besamusca and others, KNAW Verhandelingen, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks 159 (Amsterdam: KNAW Verhandelingen, 1994), pp. 82–91.

[25] The interest of AF literature in British history and identity has received considerable attention, sometimes in conjunction with ME texts. A significant early study focused on romance is Susan Crane, *Insular Romance: Politics, Faith and Culture in Anglo-Norman and Middle English Literature* (Berkely, CA: University of California Press, 1986).

With regard to this, it is interesting to note that in spite of its usual representation in scholarship, the Auchinleck manuscript is not entirely monolingual, though given the number of ME romances found in a single manuscript it is still an unusual compilation. 'The Sayings of the Four Philosophers' is a macaronic poem that includes AF and Latin, the version of the *Short Metrical Chronicle* in Auchinleck contains AF lines, and a list of 551 names supposedly representing the Norman barons who fought at Hastings, known as the *Battle Abbey Roll*, can be considered more French than English.[26]

French has another presence in the manuscript as well. Christopher Baswell has drawn attention to the 'sudden, even dramatic appearances' of 'contextually unexpected languages' in several Auchinleck texts including *KA*. These take the form of moments of French speech. Baswell's example from *KA* is of Alexander crying out, upon discovering a knight intent on killing him, 'Fitz a puteyne' (3912).[27] The surfacing of French elements, to Baswell, is a sign of the essentially French nature of ME romance. This 'erupts' into the text at points and reveals the 'palimpsest' nature of the ME text.[28] Although Summerfield critiques the negative associations of Baswell's chosen terminology, the interest of these moments of French speech is clear. These multilingual elements in the text have social connotations, like register and style, and form part of the author's lexical choices (see Introduction, 1.2, 1.4.2, 1.5.1.2 and 5.4).

Moreover, and returning to my opening statement in this chapter, attention to the presence of French is also central to studies of *KA*. There are few literary studies dedicated to this text, beyond a few articles and unpublished dissertations. Instead, when *KA* is studied, it is in works on the Alexander tradition, on representations of the Orient, and works with an interest in for example the oral-literary continuum or multilingualism. In those studies concerned with something other than its position within the Alexander tradition, there is close attention to the language of *KA*, which is

[26] For a more detailed summary, see Thea Summerfield, '"And She Answered in Hir Language",' pp. 241–42. She refers to brief observations on multilingual elements, French and Latin, in *The Auchinleck Manuscript: National Library, Advocates MS 19.2.1*, with introduction by Derek Pearsall and I. Cunningham (London: Scolar, 1977), p. viii; Turville-Petre, *England the Nation*, p.113; and Christopher Baswell, 'Multilingualism on the Page', in *Middle English*, ed. by Paul Strohm (Oxford: OUP, 2007), pp. 38–50 (p. 43–44). Baswell calls the *Battle Abbey Roll* a French 'text'. On the roll, see H. M. Smyser, 'The list of Norman Names in the Auchinleck MS,' in *Mediaeval Studies in Honor of J. D. M. Ford*, ed. by U. T. Holmes and A. J. Denomy (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948), pp. 257–87.
[27] Baswell, 'Multilingualism,' p. 40. See 3.2, 3.3, 5.4 and 5.5.
[28] Baswell, 'Multilingualism,' p. 46; discussed in Summerfield, '"And She Answered in Hir Language",' p. 255.

seen as highly French, even rarefied.[29] This characteristic of the text was already highlighted by Smithers, who noted the general tendency of the author of *KA* to use 'rare, unusual, problematic, or otherwise notable words'. There is an unexpectedly high number of ON words and a Middle Dutch and Middle Low German element beside the French. Still, the 'most striking lexical feature of *KA* is the unusual number of French words in it'. Moreover, '[m]any of the French words are rare, recondite, or otherwise unattested in ME'. In addition, there are 'extensive semantic borrowings from OF (or AN) and numerous calques on French phrasal idioms', as well as some phrases 'taken over intact'. All this shows us an author 'steeped in French idiom'.[30]

We have seen that discussions of identity in the ME romances, particularly of the Auchinleck manuscript, make much of the supposedly exclusive choice of English in the manuscript. By making heavy use of French-derived lexical material, texts like *KA* problematize this reading. Margaret Bridges, discussing this aspect of the text in a recent overview of work on *KA*, presents four hypotheses on the nature of the French element in the text, and considers it too early to conclude with certainty that the text is 'linguistiquement hybride'.[31] It could be a hybridity sought out by the author; a willingness to appropriate frequently used French by way of code-switching; nothing more than a reflection of the hybrid nature of the language then and there; or a palimpsest-like trace of source text, similar to Baswell's interpretation. Note that some of these would contradict Smithers' impression of the vocabulary as striking, though his description of the author as 'steeped in French idiom' is not perhaps so different from the hypothesis that the language reflects the language of that author at that time, whether by employing an existing register or by the frequent use of code-switching.

A detailed assessment of the import of the French element in *KA* is therefore still required. The results of my investigation enable me to evaluate the (brief) analyses by Baswell and Summerfield, specifically Baswell's idea of the ME text as palimpsest and Summerfield's point on the French 'flavour' of the speech of certain characters. Moreover, it furthers our knowledge of the implied audience of *KA* in light of the linguistic demands the text makes on its audience. Within the larger plan of my thesis,

[29] Baswell, 'Multilingualism,'; Summerfield, '"And She Answered in Hir Language"'; Nancy Bradbury, *Writing Aloud: Storytelling in Late Medieval England* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1998).
[30] II, pp. 56–58. The distinction between OF and AF is not at this point explained by Smithers.
[31] Margaret Bridges, 'VIII Lettres anglaises dans une culture plurilingue,' in *La fascination pour Alexandre le Grand dans les littératures européennes (Xe–XVIe siècle): réinventions d'un mythe*, ed. by Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), I, pp. 451–89 (p. 461).

this examination can then be compared to the linguistic make-up and implied audience of *LB* and *HS*. This chapter focuses on the linguistic aspect of *KA*. This will be related to the content of the text, the audience question and the manuscript context in chapters 5–6.

For *LB*, a complete overview of the text's French-derived vocabulary was created by combining existing, incomplete, studies with a Boolean search of the *MED*, which after a selection process to leave out false hits yielded just over a hundred entries (see 2.2). By contrast, such a search for *KA* results in a total of 1149 entries before taking out false hits. Consequently, a different approach is taken here in studying the French lexical element in *KA*. In *LB*, the number of French-derived items was small enough that the question of the integration of each item of that vocabulary is of great consequence to our assessment of the French element in the text. In *KA*, the relatively French character of the ME used is evident, as is shown both by the comment it has received and by the *MED* search. With the general flavour of the language already determined, a detailed study of the entire French-derived vocabulary in the text would only confirm the general pattern: a high number of French-derived words and senses is used, of which not everything was well integrated in ME by the early fourteenth century. Therefore, this chapter focuses on rare French-derived vocabulary in *KA*. Details of my data selection and analysis follow in 3.3. Before that, 3.2 analyses the striking use of common French-derived rhyme tags in *KA*.

3.1.4 Laud Misc. 622 and Auchinleck: Tracing Early Fourteenth-Century English?

At the start of this chapter, I described the manuscripts of *KA* and concluded that I would be using the Auchinleck version to ground the language of this text in the early fourteenth century, but that this version is fragmentary, leaving us dependent for the main part of the text on the version in Laud Misc. 622. Since my focus is on the rare vocabulary in the text, as explained in 3.1.3 and 3.3.1, this raises a critical issue and possible methodological problem. Only a few of the rare terms in my data set occur in the final section of the text, and thus in Auchinleck. For the rest we can only say that the form is found *c.* 1400 in the Laud manuscript. The question is, then, whether and to what extent it is possible to use the linguistic evidence of Laud Misc. 622 as representing earlier usage. Smithers' position is that Laud is the best witness to the

authorial version and Auchinleck 'of moderate quality' due to 'some errors by substitution of a synonym, and some bad readings'; but at some points, Auchinleck contains what is probably an original form where Laud has a different one. Comparison of the two versions from line 6676 shows that the versions are relatively close but not such that the language of Laud may in all cases be extrapolated to Auchinleck. Laud Misc. 622 demonstrates a homogeneous language form and is likely to have been copied (by a single scribe) in its entirety from a single textual recension.[32]

Various levels of divergence may be categorised in this comparison. Least relevant are graphemic or morphological variants: those variations in spelling or the forms of personal pronouns and verb endings that could be changed by scribes without any problem. It is known that many scribes used their own preferential forms, one or several acceptable ones, when copying an exemplar with different dialect features.[33] At the other end of this scale of relevance are examples of syntactic variation and complete rewriting of sentences. Such differences are hardly found between these two versions. This is unsurprising given the large-scale changes such rewriting would bring to a metrical text. Many redactors would be uncomfortable making such changes. We do however find such variation in the Lincoln's Inn and *Bagford Ballad* versions, proving such redactors existed. Auchinleck and Laud Misc. 622 are clearly more similar to each other and suggest a more usual degree of modification.

As to lexical variation, the general conclusion is that there is a considerable amount between Laud Misc. 622 and Auchinleck, but most of it concerns the alternation of synonyms or semantically very close forms of common native lexical items. For example, if we compare Laud's 'hii nyllen, saunz fayle | Aȝeins me taken batayle' and Auchinleck's 'no dur þai saunfaile | Oȝaines me taken bataile' (7010–11), the difference is found in 'hii nyllen' and 'no dur þai'. Whether they are unwilling or afraid to fight is a slight variation. In Laud's 'By wodes, by dales and by douns' a single noun is different from Auchinleck's 'Bi wodes bi dales and bi tounes' (7769). The purely natural setting of Laud Misc. 622 contrasts with the more varied landscape, inclusive of towns, painted in Auchinleck.

[32] Smithers, II, pp. 2, 13, 56.
[33] On different scribal practices, see Michael Benskin and Margaret Laing, 'Translations and *Mischsprachen* in Middle English Manuscripts,' in *So meny people longages and tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh*, ed. by Michael Benskin and M. Samuels (Edinburgh: The Editors, 1981), pp. 55–106, or (more recently) Margaret Laing, 'Multidimensionality: Time, Space and Stratigraphy in Historical Dialectology,' in *Methods and Data in English Historical Dialectology*, ed. by M. Dossena and Roger Lass (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004), pp. 49–96.

These examples raise two questions: when such variation is significant, and whether we should expect a redactor willing to make such small changes to also modify more unusual lexis. In fact, some other lexical differences between Laud Misc. 622 and Auchinleck are more relevant, as the different choices result in subtly different emphases. As Alisaunder realises he has been poisoned, he bursts into a fifteen-line lament. Auchinleck starts off dramatically, stating 'Allas Allas Ich am dede'. Laud less poignantly has 'Allas! he seide Ich am neiȝ ded!' (7853) — nearly dead, and soon, but not quite yet.[34] Later on, Laud focuses more on the poison ('His poyson present me haþ aqueld', 7865), where Auchinleck mentions the one responsible ('Þe þeues present me haþ aqueld'). After his death, a bird resolves the barons' strife over where to bury Alisaunder with instruction to take him to Egypt. In Laud, Alisaunder is 'þe corps', against the neutral but perhaps more personal 'him' in Auchinleck (7995). We are reminded in this that manuscript variants need not be a sign of degeneration, away from an authorial version, but can represent the effects of focused, purposeful alteration by a skilled scribal redactor.

Given these slight divergences, we must lastly consider those rare French-derived words that occur in the section surviving in Auchinleck. Of the nine uses of a rare form after line 6676 in my data set (see 3.3), four are in lines missing in Auchinleck (**tapinage** twice, **treget**, and **rere-maine**). Four more occur in both Auchinleck and Laud Misc. 622 (**abre-sek**, **trigoldrie**, **ades**, and **astoren**). One is quite different: the French phrase *a choger* '(signal) "to sleep!"' (in 'Þe wayte gan a choger blawe') is found in Laud only. Auchinleck has instead 'Þe waite gan a flegel blawe' (7763). In Auchinleck, the signal to retire is given by blowing a wind instrument (*MED* **flagel**). In Laud, it is also said to be blown (*blawe*), but we get the phrase that might have been called out. Notably, both *a choger* and **flagel** are rare insular forms with few traces in the *AND* (see Appendix 5).

This comparison shows that Laud Misc. 622 is not entirely reliable as a source for the language used in the missing portions of Auchinleck, but comes close to it. Even the single rare form not matched between the two versions is instead replaced by another rare form of AF origin (with a change from Laud's form to that in Auchinleck more

[34] Similarly, at 7883, as Alisaunder dies, many cry out; in Laud 'loude allas', helping the reader with the additional information, and in Auchinleck 'allas allas', indicating a dramatic performance. The Laud forms seem more suited for the individual reader, who perhaps by the late fourteenth century had become more common and hence expected by the redactor than at the time Auchinleck was produced.

probable; see Appendix 5). There is no different treatment of rare French-derived vocabulary in these two manuscript versions of *KA*. The number of words compared above is not much to go on, but then their small number confirms the general proximity of the two versions. We may proceed with some confidence, tempered as always by knowledge of the tentative nature of the evidence, in studying those sections of *KA* which do not survive in Auchinleck as probably reflecting the language of that manuscript version, too.

3.2 A Common But Conspicuous French Element: Rhyme Tags

A common but clearly distinguishable group of French-derived words in *KA* concerns the rhyme tags. A rhyme tag is a word or phrase most frequently found in rhyming position that seems to have a formulaic nature and relatively little semantic weight, but may have pragmatic functions. Though common in ME romances, their use in *KA* stands out through their frequency and they are likely to have been perceived as a conspicuous French element (albeit one suited to the text type). This section therefore examines their relative number and linguistic status before 3.3 presents my analysis of the rare French-derived vocabulary in *KA*.

Appendix 4 lists the occurrences of tags in *KA*, other texts of the *KA* group (*AM*, *King Richard*, *The Seven Sages of Rome*), *Havelok*, and *The Sege of Melayne*, with the purpose of showing whether *KA* uses such tags with an unusually high frequency. As explained in the appendix, the numbers give an impression of the relative frequencies of occurrence. In *KA*, 100 French-derived tags are used in 8021 lines, so that on average a French filler occurs once every 80 lines. The other texts of the *KA* group show similar numbers: 10 French fillers in 1045 lines in *King Richard* (one every 105 lines), 26 in 2770 lines for *The Seven Sages of Rome* (one every 107 lines) and 152 in *AM*'s 9763 lines (one every 49 lines). There is a clear contrast with the other two texts: *Havelok* does not use any French tags, only some of the English derivations (*withuten fayle* 2909), while the later *Sege of Melayne* (manuscript *c.* 1450, thought to have been composed *c.* 1400) also has few French elements. The closest to a French tag is the Anglicised form *bi my fay* (1398, 1449). At 1600 lines the equivalent frequency to that of the *KA* group should still yield 15 tags. In the *KA* group, too, French tags are used next to Anglicised equivalents, though the latter are generally found less often. To

conclude, the occurrence of rhyme tags in *KA* is relatively frequent compared to related texts (outdone only by *AM*), while there are also romances that barely employ them.

In contrast to longer French phrases, the rhyme tags are not generally italicised in editions of ME texts, implying they can be considered English. They are included in the *MED*, but show limited integration and appear in limited contexts, so that they can still be considered a recognisable French element. Some of the *MED* entries support this conclusion, through statements such as 'in phrases from L & OF'. Notably, phrases with **par** (prep) are followed exclusively by elements of French origin, such as '~ *ma fai*'. Like the possessive pronoun *ma*, any articles that occur are French (*par la croide*). Instances where the phrase is written as a single word indicate that they were considered a single unit by the scribe; this may suggest they were imported as compounds or phrases rather than separate words that could each be integrated into the receiving language (*permafay* in *Laud Troy Book* 3343). The phrasal quality of these tags is acknowledged by the *MED* in the case of **sauns faile** (phr) by giving the phrase a separate entry next to those for **sauns** (prep) and **faile** (n). This is a clear case of words occurring only in certain, therefore stereotyped, syntactic structures, revealing a marked use (see 1.5.4).

Traditional responses to rhyme tags have tended to dismiss them as fillers and facile solution to metrical requirements, prompted by excessive repetition (not generally found in *KA*) and conspicuous patterns such as, in *KA*, the appearance of *wiþouten assoigne* when there is a need to rhyme the words *Macedoyne* (1019, 3197), *Babiloyne* (4507) and *Amazoyne* (6040).[35] In such cases they often contribute little to the meaning of the sentence. For example, Alisaunder fights so often and so consistently successfully that when we are again told he 'ȝaf bataille | [...] saun faille' (6212–13) we need little assuring as to this fact. Contrast with this the relevance of including the prepositional phrase in the following example, also rhyming *bataile*. As Alisaunder explains a ruse, where his men must let the enemy pass by without attacking, he instructs 'Letteþ hem passen wiþouten assaile' (2137). Technically letting them pass would imply not attacking, but the addition seems a relevant specification under the circumstances.

One response to criticism of the use of rhyme tags has pointed to the effectiveness of repeated predictable elements in oral literature. Formulaic language serves to create,

[35] Cf. the evaluation in R. M. Lumiansky, 'Legends of Alexander the Great,' in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500, vol. 1: Romances*, ed. by J. Burke Severs (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967), pp. 105–06.

confirm or manipulate audience expectations of a genre. The result for the hearer familiar with it is a sense of pleasurable recognition (or surprise at deviation) and of belonging that is not at all unimaginable to the modern fan of popular cinema. Rhyme tags have not yet been considered from this perspective, although formulaic aspects of romances have received attention.[36]

Another perspective that may explain the frequent use of rhyme tags is that of pragmatics, which holds that utterances may perform functions in a text or conversation other than semantic. Of particular interest is the study of discourse markers, also called pragmatic markers and fillers. Laurel Brinton notes how studies of pragmatic markers in older English texts by non-pragmatists consider them 'apparently meaningless words and phrases'.[37] This description is remarkably close to the treatment of rhyme tags like *saun faile*. Interestingly, however, this group of rhyme tags does not seem to have been analysed as pragmatic markers.[38] Current pragmatic scholarship, though hardly in consensus on all aspects, defines discourse markers by the following characteristics: phonologically short; usually found sentence-initially; syntactically independent, parenthetical to the host clause; often a separate intonation unit; high-frequency in oral discourse; and non-referential or non-propositional, so having little or no semantic content.[39]

Pragmatic markers form a functional rather than grammatical category. One such function is structural, as pragmatic markers often organise the narrative by indicating structure and demarcating turns. Related to this is a grounding function, in which an element foregrounds or backgrounds the information it presents, indicating its relative

[36] On the emotional weight of religious invocations in ME romance, see Roger Dalrymple, *Language and Piety in Middle English Romance* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000). On the orality of ME romances in general, see Ad Putter, 'Middle English Romances and the Oral Tradition'. A detailed study of the effect of formulae on a listening audience, including ME but focused on traces of 'traditional oral poetics' is Mark C. Amodio, *Writing the Oral Tradition: Oral Poetics and Literate Culture in Medieval England* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004). Amodio's approach is applied to the two versions of *LB* by Jonathan Watson, 'Affective Poetics and Scribal Reperformance in Lawman's *Brut*: A Comparison of the Caligula and Otho Versions,' *Arthuriana* 8.3 (1998), 62–75. On the workings of formulaic elements in ME romance, see Susan Wittig, *Stylistic and Narrative Structures in the Middle English Romances* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978).

[37] Laurel Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers in English: Grammaticalization and Discourse Functions* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1996), pp. 1–5. On other terms for discourse markers, see p. 6.

[38] Laurel Brinton, 'Discourse Markers,' in *Historical Pragmatics*, ed. by Andreas H. Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen, Handbooks of pragmatics 8 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2010), pp. 285–314 (pp. 288–90); Andreas H. Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen, *English Historical Pragmatics* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2013), pp. 64–70. *Pardee* is mentioned as interjection in both these studies. This occurs only once in *KA* (line 5559).

[39] Brinton, 'Discourse Markers,' pp. 285–86. See also Jucker and Taavitsainen, *English Historical Pragmatics*, pp. 55–58; Karin Aijmer, *Understanding Pragmatic Markers: A Variational Pragmatic Approach* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2013), pp. 8–10.

importance within the narrative or sentence. The interpersonal function, lastly, indicates the speaker's position with regard to the utterance, and may be split up into a subjective function, 'expressing responses, reactions, attitudes, evaluations or continuing attention', and an intersubjective function which 'ranges from attention getting to expressions of cooperation, shared knowledge, solidarity or intimacy (positive politeness) to deference and other face-saving devices (negative politeness)'.[40] These functions should not be seen as fixed meanings, either diachronically or synchronically. Pragmatic markers may be seen as having a meaning potential, parts of which can be evoked in different ways in different contexts.[41]

The most frequently used tags do not reveal an immediate pattern suggestive of a particular function, though more work from a discourse perspective is desirable. However, for some tags there is a clear pattern suggestive of a discourse function. The tags containing **par** are conspicuous in their frequent appearance in speech, marked by an asterisk in Appendix 4. For example, both uses of *parfay* are found at the start of a reply and suggest an emphatic utterance; this pattern is confirmed in the *MED*, where ten of sixteen uses show it at the start of an utterance. Most interestingly, all five uses of *par amour* are used either to announce the contents of a letter, at the start of a letter, or at the start of a turn in direct speech:

1. Announcing the transition to direct speech in the form of a letter:

And a lettre, par amoure,
Of whiche swiche was þe tenure (1707–08)

Anoþer lettre he sent hem to,
Of a feloun and bitter tenure-
Hereþ it alle, par amoure (2971–74)

2. As part of the opening greeting in a letter:[42]

And sendeþ to Alisaunder a wrytt
þat þus saide (now hereþ it):
"To Alisaunder þe stronge kyng,
Of alle caisers maisterlyng,

[40] Brinton, 'Discourse Markers,' p. 286. See also Aijmer, chapter 1. An older but more elaborate discussion by Brinton can be found in her *Pragmatic Markers in English*, pp. 35–40.
[41] Aijmer, pp. 14–18; K. Norén and P. Linell, 'Meaning potentials and the interaction between lexis and contexts: An empirical substantiation,' *Pragmatics* 17.3 (2007), 387–416 (p. 390), quoted in Aijmer, p. 12.
[42] Interesting in comparison is the comment in *LB* that in his enraged reply to a letter sent by Julius Caesar, Cassibelaunus lets a writ be made 'al wið-ute grætinge' (3651).

Darrie, þat was emperoure,
Sendeþ gretyng, par amoure! (4495–500)

He braak þe seal and þe lettre seie-
þis was þe tenure, par ma feie:
"To Alisaunder þe Emperoure,
Of caysers prince, of kniȝttes floure,
þe quene Candace, wiþ al honoure,
Senteþ gretinges, par amoure. (6672–77)

3. At the start of a turn of (in)direct speech:

And she hym asked, par amour,
Ȝif he seiȝ euer swiche tresour; (7668–69)

The first four instances, in the order found in the text, all concern letters and accompany a request. The last is in a section of the text featuring frequent dialogue between Alisaunder, Candace and other nobles. All mark the beginning of a turn of speech.

The single use of an Anglicised version also occurs in that section: 'Sampson of Ennise, for myne amour, | þou hast yþoled many dolour!' (7942–43). It is part of Alisaunder's deathbed speech where he divides his lands among his favoured nobles. This is a sequence of messages to different addressees, several of which are marked as new turns like this one, like 'Mark of Rome, bele amy!' (7930) and 'Oo, bele amye, sir Perdicas!' (7904). In these instances the author aids the audience in comprehension, by clearly demarcating the transition to speech, yet without using the exact formula in the exact same way. There is a set of phrases that recurs in the context of the start of a letter, but in a variety of ways. *Par amour* seems closely associated with this function, perhaps due to a historical use in letters or messages.

The section that catalogues the peoples of India (4747–5032) features many tags. This could have a structural function, as this section has many short descriptions with little interconnection, posing a challenge to an author seeking to write a cohesive text. Indeed, some medieval versions of the Alexander legend, including some of the *RTC*, leave out sections on the marvels.[43] The sections often end with a tag, like *verrayment* (4936) or *saunz faile* (4878); but these are also used in the middle of sections (e.g. 4857, 4960, 5000). That could mean the tags do not have a structuring function, but can also show they had several functions. A grounding function is also quite possible, where phrases like *saunz faile* perhaps indicate the relative importance of the clause in which

[43] Stone.

they occur; this is supported by their frequent occurrence in main clauses and alongside new information.

Finally, we may consider whether any tags fulfil interpersonal or relational pragmatic functions. Here, perhaps, we should think back to *par amour*, which involves requests and greetings, expressing an aspect of the relation between those concerned in a conventionalised way (though it is resemanticised when Candace uses it). Some of the common rhyme tags like *verreiment* may also serve to signal to the relation between the authorial voice and the (implied) audience, as the poet asserts to us the veracity of his statements (i.e. signals epistemic stance).

These preliminary indications of discourse functions of rhyme tags suggest that ME authors were able to draw on a range of tags to select one that not only suited the poetic context (rhyme, metre) but also pragmatic conventions. It is not their use in ME that is notable in *KA*, but their number and frequency of use. In this way they form a conspicuous French element in the text. The next section turns to a different, highly notable aspect of the French-derived vocabulary in this text, that deemed unusual and rare.

3.3 French Vocabulary in *Kyng Alisaunder*: Cherries on the Cake or Rarefied

3.3.1 Data Set and Analysis

The following sections discuss the rare French-derived vocabulary of *KA*, the focus of my analysis for *KA*. As mentioned in 3.1, analysis of the full French-derived vocabulary in *KA* would neither be practical, nor yield new insights: it is already evident from earlier work that the text contains many rare French-derived words. Although highly rare in ME and sometimes even in medieval French, they are clearly real words, in contrast to the 'ghost words' sometimes created through misreadings.[44] I include the words listed by Smithers as 'rare, recondite, or otherwise unattested' in ME, all of which were confirmed as highly unusual in ME in my analysis of their attestations (see 3.3.2). In addition, I include words that stood out in my reading of *KA*, which were checked in Smithers' notes and the *MED*. If only attested in *KA* and very few other texts, they too were added to the data set. Lastly, the glossary and notes mention a

[44] For example *cales* (7058); see Smithers, II, p. 149.

number of very rare terms that Smithers did not include in his list, presumably because they are present in the *RTC*. While representing a rare element in ME, they do not point to the author's independent command of rare French vocabulary. Smithers' list seems to have been geared more towards such independent usage. Since my point of departure has been the identification of noticeable French linguistic elements in the text, however, it is relevant to include these forms, too. Their rarity is such that other scholars would likely arrive at a similar selection.

This selection of words is not intended to be fully exhaustive, but covers the majority of the rare French-derived vocabulary in *KA*, where rare refers to the ME word rather than the French etymon. As discussed above, the focus in this section on rare words is likely to yield more foreign elements than naturalised borrowings. The sixty words, their attestations, and the analyses can be found in Appendix 5. The main form given there is that of Smithers' glossary. Here, I use the *MED* headword where available, and the glossary form for words not recorded in the *MED*.

My analysis takes into account the following points. Firstly, concerning the use in ME: is the word attested before its use in *KA*, judging from the recorded uses in *MED* and *OED*?[45] If so, are the attestations continuous or is there a gap? Is the word attested *after* its use in *KA*? If so, are the attestations continuous, or is there a gap? Are there similar forms attested earlier, which could reduce the foreign quality of the form? To conclude, is the use in *KA* isolated from or integrated in ME (cf. 1.5.4)? Secondly, is the word attested in AF or CF only?[46] The higher familiarity of an insular form would increase the likelihood of its use in English, especially among bilingual speakers. Is there observable semantic development between the French and English use? If so, it may reflect a previous period of use in English during which the meaning changed.[47]

[45] As discussed in 3.1.4, the text of Laud Misc. 622 which I will be dependent on here is a relatively reliable witness to the language of *KA* earlier in the thirteenth century. As such, despite its date of c. 1400, I will categorise attestations from the period 1350–1400 as later attestations. In analysing each individual word with attestations from that period, I consider carefully whether that categorisation is acceptable.

[46] This was based on the *AND* for AF and for OF on Godefroy. Godefroy was used only to check the occurrence in OF of words not attested in AF, for which purpose it was adequate; I am aware of the higher value of the Tobler-Lommatzsch *AFW*. The revised entries of the *AND*2 are based on more material than entries for letters not yet reached by the ongoing revision and thus less likely to have missed attestations. See 1.5.2.2.

[47] William Rothwell, 'English and French in England after 1362', *English Studies* 82.6 (2001), 539–59 (p. 555). On semantic development and gradual enrichment of French and Latin loans in ME, see also Philip Durkin, *Borrowed Words: A History of Loanwords in English* (Oxford: OUP, 2014), pp. 247–49. If the word is not attested in AF, it is possible that the semantic development occurred in that language but was never recorded.

Thirdly, is the word used in the *RTC* at this point in the text, showing it to be a direct borrowing (whether or not it is attested earlier)? If not, does the word or a related form occur elsewhere in the source, where it could serve as prompt? Such comparison is not easy for *KA* since it is textually not very close to the surviving versions of its AF forebear, the *RTC*. Where possible, though, these versions have been considered. The glossary in Foster's edition is 'selective in both its entries and its line-references' and so does not record all uses, but the concordance function of the *AND* allows for a digital version of the edition to be searched, including variant spellings and forms.[48] In what follows, I present a summary discussion of my findings. For details and line numbers the reader is referred to Appendix 5.

It may be mentioned here that a comparison of the attestations of French-derived words found in *KA* and either *LB* or *HS* was made based on the *MED* search mentioned at the start of this section, which is left out for reasons of space. This showed that almost all of the vocabulary shared between these texts is attested from 1300 onwards and much of it from before 1300. Words also found in *KA* are marked in italics in Appendix 3 and 7.

3.3.2 Attestations in Middle English

To turn first to the attestations of the words within ME (see Table 1), the selection of rare terms leads expectedly to the outcome that very few words have any earlier attestations. More are attested later, but still not many. Almost half are *hapax legomena* according to the *MED*, in which some are not even recorded. For the words with earlier attestations, firstly, many are in a different sense, or after what is probably a significant gap in usage. For example, there are two earlier attestations for **coilen**, but in a meaning highly divergent from the use in *KA* ('choose', not 'attack'; OF **coillir** has both senses). Similarly, **astoren** is used in *KA* in two senses both found in AF ('supply' and 'redress (a wrong)'); *KA* provides the only attestation for the second, which is semantically separate from earlier use. Other examples are **sengle**, **distincten** and **treget** (see Appendix 5). These are words otherwise attested more commonly (still mostly after 1300) but used in a sense identical to French usage, usage not otherwise adopted into

[48] Foster, II, p. 115. The concordance function for the *RTC* may be accessed at <http://www.anglo-norman.net/s-kwic-start.shtml> by selecting only 'Rom Chev ANTS' as source text.

English. Semantic development between French and English points to integration of the form; the complete lack of such development in these words shows the contrary.

Table 1: Attestations of rare vocabulary in *KA* in ME

No other attestations	**Later attestations**	**Earlier attestations**
ades, al, alan, amer, arbre-sek, asperaunt, butumei, canar, choger, curreye, envesure, essure, estallacioun, fedde, fluuie, gorgen, harshen, honteys, jobet, jouaunt, maneis, membret, murai, oillier, rampronen, trigoldrie, unce	abette, acost, afetement, antecessour, apprise, astaunchen, astoren, avise, brai, coilen, colee, disrengen, distincten, ferraunt, foisoun, fourchure, huntage, laroun, lionseu, maintenaunt, pirope, rere-maine, retours, sarreli, sclice, sengle, tapinage, trappe, treget	acost, astoren, avetrol, coilen, distincten, dure, flagel, foisoun, retour, sarreli, sengle, skek, trappe, treget, veire

Of the few words with earlier attestations, some early uses are separated from the use in *KA* semantically, while others are removed chronologically from other attestations. This suggests strongly that their usage in *KA* is unrelated to the earlier attestations. In addition, the early uses tend to be in a restricted number of texts, especially romances; *AM* accounts for many, and may be by the same author as *KA*. Although the noun **foisoun** is relatively common in ME in the fourteenth century, it occurs in *KA* in the phrase *a foisoun* 'in abundance', a unique use. Similarly, **retour** (attested in just a few other texts in the early fourteenth century) is used here in the phrase *saunz retours* 'without fail'.[49] There is a long gap after these early uses, suggesting they were rare forms and not integrated in ME. Likewise, the five attestations for **skek** 'raid' all occur around 1300, although related words like **skekerie**, the verb and gerund are attested

[49] A similar example is suggested by Smithers for *rage* in the phrase *o rage*, said to be modelled on OF *a rage* in 'Depe stremes and swift o rage' (4254). See Smithers' note. These three phrases, each consisting of French preposition plus noun (like the rhyme tags), occur in rhyming position and may have been prompted by the demands of versification. That does not diminish their rarity in ME.

later, and the early attestations for **flagel** ‘flute’, **trappe** ‘horse covering’ and **veire** ‘truly’ (all in romances) are probably separate from the later ones.

While none of the words ever became common (again unsurprising given the criterion for their selection), about half are attested at least once after their use in *KA*. The only word with something approaching continuous attestations is **apprise** ‘deed’. Those that also have earlier attestations have already been discussed. Both **sarreli** ‘serried’ and **duree** ‘endurance’ are recorded only in *KA* and Mannyng’s 1338 *Story of England*, a text influenced by French romance.[50] Fifty years separate attestations for **ferraunt** ‘grey’ and **abet** ‘assistance’, the latter also having two contemporary attestations. The gap increases to three quarters of a century for **trappe** and **retour** (also in Auchinleck), ninety years for **hountage** ‘shame’, a century for **acost** ‘alongside’ (found earlier in *AM*) and **antecessour** ‘forebear’, and 150 years for **astoren**, **brai** ‘outcry’ and **lionseu** ‘(device of) a small lion’.

The fact that most attestations contemporary to *KA* occur in romances or texts associated with French (romance) tradition indicates that the words, though they had a certain currency, were limited to a specific context. For **acost**, the use in *KA* itself is limited to a specific immediate context, as eight of the ten uses rhyme with **hoste** (n 1) ‘army’ (see Appendix 5). Although ten uses might suggest integration at least in the language of the poet, the restricted pattern of use is a sign the word had not become broadly established in ME (see 1.5.4). If the early attestations in romances and associated texts are followed by a large gap, then the conclusion that they were probably not in continuous use appears justified. The lack of widespread use continuous with that in *KA* suggests that the words were not assimilated firmly into English but rather remained French elements associated with a certain genre or register (see 5.4). For most, there are no or only rare related words that could have aided recognition. Only **astaunchen** ‘restrain’ probably should not be considered very rare, given the broader currency of **staunchen** in similar senses.

To finish with the rarest elements, twenty-six words are listed as *hapax legomena* in the *MED*, nine more are unique in the sense used here (**abette**, **afetement**, **avise**, **coilen**, **disrengen**, **distincten**, **sclice**, **treget**), and two are used in a phrase not otherwise found outside of the *KA* group (*a foysoun*, *saunz retours*). The latter demonstrate the ease with

[50] Raymond G. Biggar, ‘Mannyng, Robert (*d.* in or after 1338)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17986, accessed 12 Aug 2009]. See chapter 4.

which the author uses French phrases, also visible in the use of rhyme tags, to which *saunz retours* is indeed so similar that I have tentatively included it there. The words with unique senses have already been discussed above. To finally consider the unique words, it is relevant to check whether there are any related words or other aspects that could have mitigated their rarity or aided comprehension for those unfamiliar with French.

Of these, *fedde* ('outlawed', a past participle) is unattested, but the noun is found in ME (**fede** (n 1) 'hostility'). Likewise, **membret** 'vigorous' (adj) can be related to the noun (**membre** n). *Fluuie* 'river' (not in the *MED*) is an AF form of **flueve** related to **flum** (n), with the latter relatively well known in ME romances (though more generally speaking it was the rarer form in OF; also compare Latin **fluvius/fluvia**). *Honteys* 'shame' is not included in the *MED* under **hounte** (n), but the Auchinleck form *honteie* is (found in *AM*); as Smithers explains in his note, *honteys* must be seen as a separate form, which would however have been familiar from **hounte**. The extent to which the related forms will have aided comprehension is doubtful, because they are rare themselves. This also applies to the remaining examples: **murai** is related to **mur** (n), but that itself only has two attestations. A similar conclusion applies to **enveisaunce** (n) as relation of **envesure**, **bitumen** and **betumques** beside **butumei**, and **jobard** next to **jobet**. The greatest part of the data set, moreover, has no parallel in any English usage and appears, the evidence suggests, straight out of French. Of **canar** 'ship', for example, it may be interesting to note that OE **cnear**, with the same meaning, has left no trace in ME. It appears improbable that the OE form reinforced the French.

One general sign that these words were probably not integrated in ME is that they are rare even within *KA*, only three being used more than twice and another eight used twice. Now for content words this is not too revealing, as there may simply not be another point in the narrative where the concept is needed, but concepts like 'immediately' (**maintenaunt**, *ades*), 'truly' (**veire**) or, especially, 'to attack' (**coilen**) occur regularly and are usually expressed with other, more common words. The low number of uses per word can be seen as one more indication of their relative rareness. As a final point relevant to determining these words' rarity in ME, I should note that hardly any of them show any signs of foreignness in the way they are used, such as an accompanying synonym, paraphrase or explicit explanation. **Butumei** is an example of this, and it follows the *RTC*, since the substance is of relevance to the plot; it is what

Alisaunder uses to seal in the peoples of Gog and Magog (6205). Similarly, it is explained what the **arbre-sek** are (6755), just as in the *RTC*. The general lack of explanation indicates that, however rare they may have been within ME, to the poet the words were acceptable to use without comment, meaning that either they could be understood by at least a part of the audience or they added unimportant detail. For some, like **pirope** 'fiery stone' occurring in a list of other precious stones (5672–74), the latter case is possible, but for most it seems that understanding by at least some was expected.

3.3.3 Attestations in Anglo-French and Continental French

The majority of the words are attested in AF: forty-three in the same sense, form and word class and another fourteen in a different sense, form or word class, leaving only three with no insular attestations (see Table 2). For those attested in insular sources in the same form and sense, there are few comments to be made. Most notable is *ades*, which does not have an entry in the *AND*. However, a search through the *AND* citations using the concordance function of the *Anglo-Norman Hub* reveals three uses in insular sources. Likewise, the spelling variants at the head of the entry for **membré** do not list a form like *KA*'s *menbrette*, but the quotations do (*menbrez* in the *RTC* and in Gower). Some, of course, are different in spelling. For example, all forms of **eschec**[1] in the *AND* have an initial <*e*->, while the ME form is **skek**. This loss of the initial epenthetic vowel is common in ME words adapted from French (and for many such words also regularly found in AF).

More interesting are some words that are attested in a different form or sense than in AF. For some, the difference is slight, may well be due to incomplete records, and the ME form may have been used in spoken AF; in any case it would be an easy extension in either AF or ME. To begin with these, while *fedde* (v) is not recorded in the *AND*, the noun is, just as **rere-maine** 'backhanded stroke' is found as adverb, while the form in *KA* is a noun. Even more clearly, **eslancement** (n) in the *AND* presupposes the unrecorded existence of *alan* 'impetuousness' (in the form *eslan*). The combination of attested words **arbre** and **sec** to *arbre-sek* is taken by the *KA* author from an existing tradition (see Appendix 5). More unusual divergence is found for *honteys* and **jouaunt**, for these exact forms are not recorded in any French source, and may have been formed by the *KA* author. For *honteys*, that is what Smithers suggests in his note to the line.

Avetrol ‘bastard’ is related to French forms of the kind *avoltre* (**avuiltre** n); intriguingly, the only models for forms somewhat like that in *KA* are in Walloon and Flemish, in line with Smithers’ suggested Middle Dutch influence.

Although **colee**, *essure*, **harshen**, and **lionseu** are included in the *AND*, the specific senses used in *KA* are only attested in continental sources. This may be due to a lack of survival in the records, as we know the words made it across the Channel, but it is possible that the use in AF was limited to the senses recorded. For some, the difference is rather slight. **Lionseu**, notably, is used in the *RTC* and from there in *KA* in the sense ‘device representing a small lion’, a small extension from the main meaning ‘small lion’ that in a sentence stating the lion was on someone’s shield or spear poses few problems (2721). **Treget** is listed in the *AND* only in different senses like ‘siege-engine’ and ‘journey’, but the one found in *KA* (a ‘transverse stroke’ or other blow) is also used in Wace’s *Roman de Rou*.[51]

Three words are not attested in insular sources at all: **jobet** ‘fool’, **pirope** ‘fiery stone’, and **trigoldrie** ‘trickery’. Most interesting is that none of these forms is drawn from the *RTC*, so that they represent the poet’s own lexical repertoire. For example, **pirope** is included in a list of precious stones excreted by a certain type of serpent. The *RTC* here only mentions *perres* ‘stones’, but the *KA* poet takes the opportunity to catalogue various types instead.[52] **Pirope** is attested in continental sources from the thirteenth century. The *FEW* suggests that neither **jobet** nor **trigoldrie** is found before 1600, though for **trigoldrie** the earlier currency of forms like **trigalerie** provides an alternative explanation. For **jobet**, however, the form in *KA* provides unique testimony to the word’s earlier existence. This also proves the records faulty and no strong conclusions about continental origins should be drawn: if continental sources can have disappeared, the same goes for insular records of these words. Perhaps it was avoided in written sources as a low-register term. These few examples therefore tantalisingly suggest that the author of *KA* was familiar with continental French, but the nature of the

[51] Hans-Erich Keller, *Étude descriptive sur le vocabulaire de Wace*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Romanische Sprachwissenschaft 7 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1953), p. 169. The word is included in Keller’s list of uses unique to Wace, which supports the rarity of the use suggested by the lack of inclusion in the *AND*. It may have been a specialist term and/or part of everyday vocabulary of the kind not adopted in writing.

[52] The passage in *KA* seems to be the result of a peculiar misreading or confusion; in surviving manuscripts of the *RTC*, it describes the genesis of pearls in shells. This generative power is transferred to serpents from an adjacent passage in *KA*. See Smithers’ note, and Appendix 5 on the history of the French form.

evidence does not allow more than the possibility. In general, the main source for the borrowings was clearly AF.

Table 2: Attestations of the rare vocabulary in medieval French

Attested in the French of England in this sense	**Only related form/sense attested in the French of England**	**Attested in continental French only**
abette, acost, ades, afetement, al, amer, antecessour, apprise, astaunchen, astoren, avise, brai, butumei, canar, choger, coilen, curreye, disrengen, distincten, dure, envesure, estallacioun, fedde, ferraunt, flagel, fluuie, foisoun, fourchure, gorgeien, hountage, laroun, maneis, maintenaunt, membret, murai, oillier, rampronen, retour, sclice, sengle, skek, tapinage, veire	alan, arbre-sek, asperaunt, avetrol, colee, essure, harshen, honteys, jouaunt, lionseu, rere-maine, sarreli, trappe, treget,	jobet, pirope, trigoldrie

3.3.4 Attestations in the 'Roman de Toute Chevalerie'

My third set of questions concerned the relation to the source. Before presenting my findings, it is interesting to turn to Brian Foster's comments on the lexis of the *RTC* in his edition.[53] Foster's main point is that the 'basic military vocabulary is that of the *chansons de geste*,' to the point that the 'general impression made on the reader [...] is that it belongs to the twelfth rather than the thirteenth century'. This point is of interest because a number of very rare terms in *KA* concern these 'usual names and expressions' for military concepts: **acoillir** yielding **coilen**, **conrai** giving *curreye* 'body of troops', and **eschec** ME **skek**, next to less rare forms such as *medlee*, *ost*, *ostage*, and *truage*. In general, though, the military vocabulary of *KA* seems broader. It is certainly not restricted to terms derived from the *RTC*, introducing military terms like **treget** 'transverse stroke' and **rere-maine** 'back-handed blow'. This matches the image that

[53] II, pp. 57–58.

emerges when the rare vocabulary is examined in relation to the *RTC*. Twenty-four of the rare French-derived words in *KA* also occur at some point (not, usually, the same passage) in *RTC*, fourteen more occur in a different sense or form, such as a different word class or a more distantly related word, and twenty-two are not found in *RTC* at any point.

A few usages in *KA* can be related directly to their use in *RTC* (at least **butumei**, *choger, estallacioun,* **fourchure**, *gorgeien,* **lionseu**, **sengle**; see Appendix 5). For some, the specific use in *RTC* conditioned an unusual sense in ME, too: **lionseu**, literally 'little lion', is used to mean 'device of a lion' on a shield in the *RTC* (5261–63) and, slightly less clearly, on a spear in *KA* (2721). Smithers supposes it may have been intended to signify a device on a pennant.

Of these, four are used here uniquely in ME (**butumei**, *choger*, *estallacioun* 'configuration of stars', *gorgeien* 'speak gutturally'). **Butumei** is explained in the text (6174–81), as it is in the *RTC* (6314–15, 6393–99). *Choger* occurs only in the phrase *a choger* that is used as signal to retire, blown (*blawe*) on an unspecified instrument (see 3.1.4, Appendix 5 and cf. **flagel**). At the equivalent point in the *RTC* we find a different phrase, 'Un poy vous cochez' (5089), and the noun *cochez*, 'signal for soldiers to sleep' (5090). The author was able to employ a different phrase, prompted by the one in his source, which would have seemed as French then as it does now. With no earlier attestations, they in all probability entered the language because of this translation. The scarcity of later attestations suggests they never found their way into English outside of the context of their borrowing for specific texts. **Fourchure**, for example, occurs only here and in *Firumbras*, limited to a romance context.

Still close together in the narrative, **ferraunt** follows in a passage shortly after the *RTC* uses it to describe a horse. For other words, like **envesure** 'merriment', the distance is greater, while yet others occur well before the equivalent word is used in *RTC*, such as **hountage**. A form's earlier occurrence would facilitate its recollection and use. If the word only appears at a later point, this diminishes the likelihood of a prompt, but does not exclude it. It is after all likely that a translator knew the source text well.

Another group of words occurs in the *RTC* at some point but only in a different form, although the author of *KA* may of course have worked from a different, lost version of *RTC* that contained these variants. Surviving variants listed in Foster's edition already provide the exact forms of **laroun** 'thief', *a foisoun* (the phrase, not just the noun) and

estallacioun found in *KA*. If, in the absence of the exact form in the *RTC*, the related form served as a prompt, then the author for some reason preferred a different form to the one used in the French. It may simply have been one he was more used to, as with scribal preferences. Some differences are in word class: the noun **brai** of *KA* occurs only as the verb *braire* in *RTC*, just as *KA*'s **dure** (n) only finds a parallel in *durer* (v) in the *RTC*. *KA*'s **coilen** (v) is simply a shortened form of that found in *RTC*, *aco(i)llir*. Adjectival **avise** 'merry' in *KA* occurs as *envoiser* (adj) in the *RTC*, but also as a verb and noun. This is not an unusual difference: AF itself shows alternation between *a-/en-*, which in AF were 'no longer felt to add anything to the sense of the simplex'.[54] These words suggest that the author's French allowed him to use forms of his own preference and not only copy those he found. Some words are used only in a different sense, even though the exact form occurs in the *RTC*. **Colee** only appears in the sense 'blow', not 'accolade' as in *KA*;[55] **skek** only means 'booty', not 'sally, plundering attack'.

Table 3: Attestations of rare vocabulary *KA* in the *RTC*

Same form (word class, sense)	butumei, canar, choger, coilen, curreye, disrengen, distincten, duree, envesure, estallacioun, ferraunt, fluuie, foisoun, fourchure, gorgeien, huntage, laroun, lionseu, maintenaunt, membret, oillier, sclice, sengle, veire
Related form or different sense only	acost, antecessour, apprise, asperaunt, astaunchen, astoren, avetrol, avise, brai, colee, honteys, murai, sarreli, skek, tapinage
Not found anywhere in the *RTC*	abette, ades, afetement, al, alan, amer, arbre-sek, essure, fedde, flagel, harshen, jobet, jouaunt, maneis, pirope, rampronen, rere-maine, retours, trappe, treget, trigoldrie, unce

3.4 Conclusion

This study of rare vocabulary in *KA* shows that those words that have other attestations are found mainly in other romances (even later ones) or chronicles equally close to French culture. '[P]roof of integration', Dor notes, can be found in 'several

[54] Glynn Hesketh, 'Lexical innovation in the Lumere as Lais,' in *De mot en mot: Aspects of medieval linguistics. Essays in honour of William Rothwell*, ed. by Stewart Gregory and D.A. Trotter (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), pp. 53–80 (p. 71 and footnote 48). Smithers similarly refers to the 'common AN tendency to replace one prefix by another of similar form' when commenting on *dispose* (II, p. 156).

[55] Of possible interest in relation to this, Foster notes that *adobber* in *RTC* is used only in the older sense 'equip, arm', not the later sense 'dub, knight'.

contemporary occurrences distributed among different texts'.[56] The close relation between the different texts for these occurrences diminishes the suggestion of integration. The words are close to French usage, especially semantically. While a gap in the occurrence of a single word or a lack of earlier attestations in itself can only suggest the lack of assimilation into English, the evidence from these words together gives a strong enough impression to claim that the vocabulary of *KA* contains a highly French element that must have stood out even in the context of widespread lexical borrowing from French. A good part of this was derived from the source, at times treated quite independently, but the poet was equally capable of introducing rare French-derived vocabulary without any prompt.

This vocabulary therefore illustrates the mastery of both languages this multilingual poet must have had to creatively and independently use a broad range of terms of various linguistic origins. While this element in the text does not preclude a reader or listener with little or no knowledge of French, for most can still be appreciated from context without understanding the exact meaning of these lexical items, it does seem likely that an author would include such elements only if he envisaged a part of his audience as capable of appreciating them. What remains to be assessed, however, is whether the marked nature of the French-derived vocabulary in *KA* would have formed any kind of recognisable register among such highly competent bilinguals. In other words, the question concerns the coherence of the language of *KA*. This returns us to the interpretations discussed in the introduction to the chapter: Thea Summerfield's 'French flavour', Christopher Baswell's idea of a 'palimpsest' text, and most importantly the four hypotheses suggested by Margaret Bridges (see 3.1).

To begin with the most general point, Summerfield's idea that French-derived vocabulary can give a speech or scene a French flavour presumably suggests such a passage would gain sociocultural associations. To determine whether such effects are present in *KA* requires studying whether the French-derived vocabulary appears more in some scenes than others. I therefore consider this aspect of clustering, which may relate to register, in chapter 5. In my discussion of rhyme tags, I already noted how some dialogue contains several tags. We may also observe that Bridges commented that *KA* is not clearly written in a courtly register, and that the general spread of the rare

[56] Juliette Dor, 'Post-dating Romance loan-words in Middle English: Are the French words of the *Katherine Group* English?', in *History of Englishes: New Methods and Interpretations in Historical Linguistics*, ed. by Matti Rissanen and others (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), pp. 483–505 (p. 486).

vocabulary and rhyme tags across the text is quite even. It is also interesting to consider already that the sum of these conspicuous French elements could give the whole of *KA* this French 'flavour', associating it with French literature, culture, or a certain social class even in the very act of translating into ME. The use of French elements per se cannot be said to have such an impact, given their ubiquity in ME — something I study further in the next chapter, as I analyse the vocabulary of *HS*, a text explicitly aimed at an unlearned audience. The unusual number of French-derived words in *KA* is clearly different, though, and forms a striking contrast to the study of *LB* in chapter 2.

The high number of rare French-derived words in *KA* also speaks against Baswell's idea of the sudden, erupting nature of French, certainly in the speeches that contain his example of 'Fitz a puteyne'. That phrase and others like it used elsewhere in *KA* turned up briefly in my discussion of the rhyme tags but hardly featured in the rare vocabulary section, for with the exception of **laroun**, uttered memorably by Darius, they are not rare words in ME. Phrases like this are described and analysed in chapter 5. Their use does not necessarily rule out Baswell's view of the French elements in a ME translation as being palimpsest-like, shining through, for that very image actually suggests to me a consistent presence of the sub-text, for the most part hardly noticeable, as the French element in *KA* is.

Bridges' more specific questions are harder to answer but also more promising. The *KA* poet's natural and masterful use of French elements suggests that the language produced would have a certain coherence: it is unlikely to have been a strange hybrid with little relation to the ME of either that poet or a broader group of bilinguals. That does not rule out that the vocabulary used would have been marked, limited to a specific register or group of speakers, and standing out both to them and others. It seems unlikely that this variety of ME would have been completely restricted to written language, though as a spoken variety it would have been that of a select group only. Their language use would influence others, but clearly did not do so with these rare elements. Here, too, the answer may be aided by checking if the rare vocabulary clusters at all. If it does, and is found in certain limited contexts, then this is more of a hybrid text or one in which code-switching is occasionally prompted than a fully hybrid language reflecting a normal full register.

In chapter 2 and 3 we have seen two texts that contained a limited set of conspicuous French elements. In *LB* this was accompanied by an equally limited set of more

integrated French-derived vocabulary, while in *KA* it is not only much rarer but is found alongside an extensive French-derived vocabulary. It is to just such an extensive French-derived vocabulary that we turn next for a fuller analysis. *KA* is not afraid to include highly marked French elements that must have appeared odd to those unfamiliar with French-influenced registers of ME. By contrast, *HS* is explicitly aimed at the unlettered. What French elements will we find in that text, and how are they used? The final data chapter contains an analysis of my most elaborate data set, followed by a study of register and other French elements in the texts (chapter 5), before I return in chapter 6 to the question of what all this may tell us about the audience of these ME texts and how my findings reflect on the study of developing identities as expressed in earlier ME texts.

Chapter 4: Writing *for lewde men*? Audience and Vocabulary in *Handlyng Synne*

4.1 Introduction

This final data chapter concerns the relationship in *Handlyng Synne* between the presence of French linguistic elements and the intended audience of the text. This concerns the most fundamental sociolinguistic question addressed in my thesis, how we can trace the integration of that vast amount of normal French-derived vocabulary that entered ME up to the mid-fourteenth century. Crucially, this vocabulary was not restricted to high-register contexts, but became established as part of the language of what we may call the common man. In the previous chapter on *Kyng Alisaunder*, only the highly foreign French vocabulary was analysed, as that part of the poet's usage was considered most interesting in relation to the poem's reception. This conspicuous element was found next to the frequent use of what appeared to be more integrated vocabulary. For *HS*, it is that more common vocabulary in all its breadth that holds the main interest. This is because, following Mannyng's claim in the prologue that he is writing for *lewde men*, the composition of his intended audience has been a focus for studies of the text. If qualified as unlearned and in need of a translation of the French source, the *Manuel de Péchés* (*Manuel*),[1] then we would expect the French-derived vocabulary used in *HS* to have been well integrated in ME at the time Mannyng wrote (between 1303 and 1317). It is this assumption that is put to the test in my analysis. The expected correlation between claimed audience and use of well-established French-derived vocabulary is probable for a didactic treatise, as an author's lexical choices would aim at full comprehension.[2] My study is an example of the qualitative case studies of single texts deemed useful by Janne Skaffari in gaining insight in the use of French-derived words in early ME.[3] It also contributes to the study of *HS*, a text well

[1] The modern spelling of this title is often used in scholarship, perhaps due to the variation of spellings found among the manuscripts. *HS* is written in the same verse form as its source, octosyllabic rhyming couplets, with occasional shorter lines. See E.J. Arnould, *Le Manuel des Péchés. Étude de Littérature religieuse anglo-normande (XIII*^{me} *siècle)* (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1940), pp. 259–60 (on the *Manuel*) and pp. 315–16 (on *HS*).

[2] Cf. the comment that in instructional fiction, a 'skilled writer [...] will pay attention to the language he uses, including his choice of words' (extended, in a footnote, to copyists who effectively have to translate between dialects) in Janne Skaffari, *Studies in Early Middle English Loanwords: Norse and French Influences* (Turku: University of Turku, 2009), pp. 203–04.

[3] Skaffari, *Studies*. His study provides a corpus analysis as well as such a case study.

known yet little studied, by providing a solid basis for analyses of its audience(s) and style.[4]

HS was chosen to represent the side of ME literature 'in the middle', containing neither notably high nor low numbers of French-derived vocabulary. The availability of a concordance that provides etymological information allows for a greater scope and hence more thorough analysis (see 4.2). Even if the etymologies had to be revised (see 1.5 and 4.2), this allowed for a quick initial selection of data. This made possible the compilation of a complete and sizeable data set. The amount of data in fact provided a limitation of my analysis, since a selection had to be made and it was impossible to make full use of the concordance information by studying each use of French-derived words in the text. That context was studied only where this appeared relevant, such as for words which turned out to be rare in ME. As such the advantages of *HS* outweigh the main disadvantage, that the manuscripts of *HS* (described in 4.1.5) are all of the later fourteenth and fifteenth century, limiting the value of an analysis of its French-derived vocabulary for our knowledge of ME around 1300. In addition, as an author, Mannyng's work is of interest for studying sociocultural implications of French because the prologue of his other work, *The Story of England*, is often taken to demonstrate the presence of a sense of English national identity (see 4.1.4 and 1.4.2). That text was not chosen because, on the one hand, it presents a text with a more notable French element (judging from earlier studies)[5] and, on the other hand, the absence of a concordance.

4.1.2 Examining Mannyng's Claim

Before I introduce the data set for *HS* in 4.2, this section contextualises my study by considering its relevance in light of existing studies of *HS*, and begins with a reading of the author's claim of writing for *lewde men*. In the prologue of *HS*, Mannyng states that

[4] Cf. Fritz Kemmler's comment that 'Although Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne* has very often been referred to in various branches of literary and historical studies [...] there is still no adequate appreciation of his work in terms of either the historical context or of its literary features' (*Exempla in context: a historical and critical study of Robert Mannyng of Brunne's 'Handlyng synne'* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1984), p. 16), a situation improved by only 'a few short literary studies' listed in Krista A. Murchison, 'Teaching Sin: Manuals for Penitents and Self-Examination Literature in England, 1150–1400' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Ottawa, 2016), p. 3 (fn. 6)).

[5] See 3.3.2, note 50.

he writes for a lay audience that has probably not had an extensive education.[6] After outlining what the text will be about, Mannyng shifts, somewhat abruptly, to this:[7]

> Of þys clerkys wyle y nouȝt seye;[8]
> To greue hem y haue grete eye,
> For þey wote þat ys to wetyn
> And se hyt weyl before hem wretyn.
> Þat may be weyl on englyssh told,
> To telle ȝow þat y may be bold.
> For lewed men y vndyr toke
> On englyssh tonge to make þys boke,
> For many beyn of swyche manere,
> Þat talys and rymys wyl bleþly here
> Yn gamys, yn festys, & at þe ale,
> Loue men to lestene trotouale:
> Þat may falle ofte to velanye,
> To dedly synne, or outher folye;
> For swyche men haue y made þys ryme
> Þat þey may weyl dyspende here tyme (37–52)

The audience is described in two main ways. Firstly, they are *lewde*, the traditional word that contrasted with learned people. In addition, they are defined in terms of their usual activity: listening to stories, playing, and drinking. Although it is not explicitly stated that this imagined *lewde* audience knows only English, the fact that a translation from French is necessary implies their knowledge of French would have been limited at best. Mannyng suggests that the intended audience was more likely to listen to the text being read out, one of the ways in which they contrast with the clerks, who could read works such as this themselves (though many still were read to, receiving texts aurally). Mannyng's text indicates that he sees this undertaking as something less than obvious or perhaps accepted: he calls himself *bolde* in translating this text, and expresses his fear (*eye*) of grieving (*greue*) clerics.

The prologue to Mannyng's source, the *Manuel*, also states it is intended for laity ('Pur la laie ge*n*t ert fet', line 113). This follows a discussion of why it is more serious

[6] The prologue is headed as such in the Bodley and Harley manuscripts of *HS* (see 4.1.5) as well as in the *Manuel* (e.g. Harley MS 4657).
[7] Quotations of the ME text are from Sullens, though I also consulted Furnivall. Sullens' base manuscript is considered the best copy of the text (see 4.1.5). For criticisms of Sullens' edition, see below and Raymond G. Biggar, Review of *Robert Mannyng of Brunne, Handlyng Synne*, ed. by Idelle Sullens, (Binghamton: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, State University of New York), *Speculum* 62.4 (Oct. 1987), 969–73. In the prologue, there is only spelling variation between these two manuscript versions and they are generally close.
[8] As Furnivall notes, *þys* seems to refer to line 91ff. of the source, about how it is worse when clergy sin than laity.

for clergy to sin than for laity, given their greater knowledge of theology.[9] Before this the author states only he is writing *a chescun* (34; cf. 30, 66), presumably to indicate his intended audience is not limited to any specific group. At face value, then, Mannyng's claim of targeting laity cannot result from a different intention than that of his source, except perhaps by broadening access to the text, or indeed as a marketing technique that bears little relation to reality.[10] In connection to this last possibility it must be noted that prologues to medieval texts are quite generic and conventional, which severely limits the evidence of statements made in them.[11] Based only on this claim in the prologue, then, we cannot conclude that *HS* was actually intended for an unlettered or English-only audience. The aim of this chapter is to study the French-derived vocabulary in *HS* in relation to Mannyng's claim. First, however, the next section traces existing work on the audiences of the *Manuel* and *HS*, as we can determine from sources other than the preambles.

4.1.3 Whom to Save: Mannyng's Audience

In trying to find out what audience a medieval text may have had, it is often relevant to consider its genre, for that allows comparison with similar works, and studies of the genre as a whole may have yielded insights into the usual audience for such texts. The exact genre of *HS* has been the subject of discussion. It is of course 'Mannyng's reaction to the call for yearly confessions for all Christians made by the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215', but that does not amount to a generic classification.[12] Sullens

[9] Quotations from the *Manuel* are from the version included in Furnivall's edition of *HS*, edited from London, British Library, MS Harley 273 and 4657. The line quoted ends 'ert cest escrit' in MS Harley 273. On the manuscripts of the *Manuel*, see Krista A. Murchison, 'The Readers of the *Manuel des péchés* Revisited,' *Philological Quarterly* 95.2 (2016), 161–99.

[10] It may be that *clerkys* is here used in the sense 'ecclesiastics', those who by canon law had a monopoly of discourse about sin, punishment, penance and redemption; cf. *MED* **clerk** (n) sense 1 (a), 'A member of the clergy (as distinguished from the laity), an ecclesiastic, cleric'.

[11] The discussion of Mannyng's prologue to his *Story of England* in *The Idea of the Vernacular* refers to classical origins of such 'ubiquitous' topoi, discussed in E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, 7th printing with a new afterword (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1990), pp. 83–85. Other ME examples in *The Idea of the Vernacular* can be found in excerpts 1.4, 1.5, 2.1, 3.13, 3.14. On the conventional nature of prologues, see also Bernard Ribémont, 'Encyclopédie et traduction: le double prologue du *Livre des proprietés des choses*', in *Seuils de l'oeuvre dans le texte médiévale 2*, ed. by Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Laurence Harf-Lancner (Paris: Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2002), pp. 59–88.

[12] Raymond G. Biggar, 'Mannyng, Robert (*d.* in or after 1338),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17986> [accessed 9 December 2016].

discusses the influence of two genres, encyclopaedic reference works that included tales and penance manuals that incorporate 'sermons and narratives in a coherent framework' and stresses their relatedness.[13] Increasingly, there is recognition of a tradition of writings that initially aided priests in administering confession (manuals of confession) but were subsequently developed for lay use (penitential *pastoralia*).[14]

Where Robertson argued that the major difference between *HS* and its source tradition is that it is aimed directly at the laity, studies of the *Manuel* disagree over its originally intended audience. Matthew Sullivan has argued that the *Manuel* was originally intended for clerical use. The comments in the preamble noted above would then be later additions to the authorial text.[15] Ulrike Schemmann, however, has argued that the text originally intended to reach a lay audience.[16] In the end such intentions are hard to trace, and turning to actual reception, Murchison demonstrates that a significant number of manuscripts was commissioned or owned by the laity, while many also passed from clerical to lay owners or vice versa during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[17]

This mixed usage by clergy and laity is similar to what has been suggested for *HS*. In her edition, Sullens summarises Mannyng's objective for both his texts as being 'to provide edification for the common man, probably the parishioners of various churches served during this period by canons of the Gilbertine order'.[18] Several passages comment on writing for the *lewed*, and do not so much exclude clergy as show the unlearned to be the main intended audience for at least those sections. That clergy are not fully excluded as audience is clear from such statements as 'Ne no clerk þat þys ryme redes | Shal fynd [...]' (10805) and 'Nat to lered onely but eke to lewed' (10812). Sullens concludes that his 'comments about priests often suggest that he may have

[13] Sullens, p. xvi.
[14] For early discussion, see D.W. Robertson, Jr., 'The Cultural Tradition of *Handlyng Synne*,' *Speculum* 22.2 (April 1947), 164–85. For the distinction, see Leonard E. Boyle, 'The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology,' in *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*, ed. by Thomas J. Heffernan (Knoxville: U. of Tennessee Press, 1985), p. 35 and, more recently, Murchison, 'Readers,' p. 162. In her thesis, Murchison distinguishes four types of what she calls 'self-examination writing' ('Teaching Sin,' p. 34; see pp. 33–65 for classifications and pp. 66–110 for audiences).
[15] Matthew Sullivan, 'The Original and Subsequent Audiences of the *Manuel des Péchés* and its Middle English Descendants' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 1990).
[16] Ulrike Schemmann, *Confessional Literature and Lay Education: The 'Manuel De Pechez' As a Book of Good Conduct and Guide to Personal Religion*, Studia Humaniora 32 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2000).
[17] Murchison, 'Readers.'
[18] Sullens, p. xiii.

hoped to inform them as well as their parishioners'.[19] Agreeing on an audience of both clergy and laity for *HS*, Kate Greenspan shows how Mannyng navigates his task of addressing both.[20] The probability of some sort of mixed audience is also suggested by the inclusion of Latin quotations, both in *HS* and Mannyng's later *Story of England*. Thea Summerfield's study of language mixing in vernacular chronicles concludes, for Mannyng, that his 'incorporation of Latin suggests an audience associated with one of the houses of his Order, but without great proficiency in Latin'.[21] This is 'not necessarily an uneducated audience or one unfamiliar with the other languages in use in England'.[22]

This would sit well with various suggestions of specific audiences that have been made. Commenting on Mannyng's chronicle, Summerfield suggested a mixed rural community centred on a Gilbertine house, while Turville-Petre envisaged a baronial audience, as for *LB*. Another suggestion, for *HS* specifically, looked at guests in houses of the order and Ruth Crosby's biography of Mannyng suggested that, since Mannyng was master of novices, *HS* may have been intended for them.[23] Interesting in this light is that Mannyng's style is often reminiscent of preaching ('le *Handlyng Synne* continue à être un véritable sermon, senti et parlé'), while his 'inclusion of new stories suggests perception of the tastes of an audience that he knew well'.[24] As Summerfield rightly notes, 'Some of these suggestions need not be mutually exclusive'. It is also improbable that a much more specific indication of the audience can be construed from the surviving biographical and manuscript evidence. The late date of the manuscripts

---

[19] *Ibid*.
[20] Kate Greenspan, 'Lessons for the Priest, Lessons for the People: Robert Mannyng of Brunne's Audiences for *Handlyng Synne*,' *Essays in Medieval Studies* 21 (2004), 109–121.
[21] Thea Summerfield, '"Fi a debles," quath the king': language mixing in England's vernacular historical narratives, c.1290–c.1340,' in Wogan-Browne, ed., *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*, pp. 68–80 (p. 72). All language switches in Mannyng's chronicle are to Latin, with one French phrase as exception. Exactly the same types of switches are found in *HS*: one French phrase without explanation (see 4.6 below) and a larger number of Latin sentences, usually translated or explained.
[22] Summerfield, '"Fi a debles",' p. 76. This quotation refers to various vernacular chronicles of the period, including Mannyng's, and is linked to *HS* by a comment in a footnote.
[23] Thea Summerfield, *The Matter of Kings' Lives: The Design of Past and Present in the early fourteenth-century verse chronicles by Pierre de Langtoft and Robert Mannyng* (Atlanta: Rodopi, 1998); Thorlac Turville-Petre, 'Politics and Poetry in the Early Fourteenth Century,' *Review of English Studies* n.s. 39 (1988), 1–29; Joyce Coleman, 'Handling Pilgrims: Robert Mannyng and the Gilbertine Cult,' *Philological Quarterly* 81 (2002), 311–26; Ruth Crosby, 'Robert Mannyng of Brunne: A new biography,' *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 57 (1942), 15–28.
[24] Arnould, p. 308; Sullens, p. xiii. On the performative, sermon-like quality of *HS*, see Robert R. Raymo, 'Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction,' in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English* 7, ed. by A.E. Hartung (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1986), pp. 2255–378 and Arnould, pp. 293–319.

(discussed in 4.1.5 below) makes them of little use in construing the early fourteenth-century audience. That it included lay people as well as clergy is highly probable, and suggestions centred on the immediate region and Mannyng's Gilbertine house seem sensible. [25]

Other aspects of Mannyng's writing may support the picture painted so far of his intended audience. Mannyng's attitude to his readers or listeners has been commented on. Arnould, in his comparison of *HS* to the *Manuel*, discussed various ways in which Mannyng offers help to the reader where the *Manuel* does not, from the explanation of technical terms to including more specific source references and a more explicit structuring of the text.[26] To what extent such explanations are due to a lack of learning in the audience rather than a generally didactic approach by the author, however, is hard to establish, and there are also moments when a native term is explained.

If the audience was of mixed composition, what of their knowledge of French? In the *Story of England*, Mannyng is explicit that he writes not just for the *lewed* but for those 'That the Latyn no Frankys con' (10).[27] Arnould takes this as analogous to his claim in *HS*, as does Sullens when she says that in the prologue to *HS* 'he has translated [...] for "lewed men" who knew neither French nor Latin'.[28] Sullens refers to specific line numbers following this statement, but these (already discussed in the previous section) contain no such explicit comment on the linguistic ability of the intended audience, and her statement appears to be based on a conflation of the two sources. In the absence of evidence we should be careful in assuming the audience of his two texts was identical in composition and linguistic ability. My analysis of French-derived vocabulary in *HS*

---

[25] Cf. Sullivan, pp. 144–55.

[26] Arnould, pp. 293–319 and cf. Hubert Gburek, *Der Wortschatz Des Robert Mannyng of Brunne in Handlyng Synne* (Bamberg: M. Schadel, 1977), p. 13. On the implications for the text's audience of its tone and emphases, see Sullivan and compare Summerfield's comment on the *Story of England* that Mannyng's style there, too, is characterised by 'regularly explaining hard words and commenting on aspects of language use' ('"Fi a debles",' p. 71). Longer stretches are translated in the immediately following lines, but a simple benediction is not (cf. 5.5). That Mannyng nevertheless did not envisage as complex a didactic aim as the *Manuel* is argued in Robert Hasenfratz, 'Terror and Pastoral Care in *Handlyng Synne*,' in *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care: Essays in Honour of Bella Millett*, ed. by Cate Gunn and Catherine Innes-Parker (York: York Medieval Press, 2009), pp. 132–48 (p. 134, 148).

[27] That prologue (lines 3–82) is included as section 1.1 in *The Idea of the Vernacular*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al (Exeter: Exeter UP, 1999). Cf. Robert Mannyng of Brunne, *The Chronicle*, ed. by Idelle Sullens, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 135 (Binghamton, NY: 1996). I follow Summerfield and Coleman in referring to his chronicle as *Story of England*, which Mannyng himself calls it; see the discussion in Joyce Coleman, 'Strange rhyme: prosody and nationhood in Robert Mannyng's *Story of England*,' *Speculum* 78.4 (Oct. 2003), 1214–38 (p. 1214, fn. 1), which draws on Summerfield, *Matter of Kings' Lives*.

[28] Arnould, p. 296; Sullens, p. xii.

studies the actual linguistic demands placed on the audience. First, however, the implications of Mannyng's chronicle for studies of *HS* are discussed further.

4.1.4 Nationalism and the Use of English: Ghosts of Mannyng's 'Story of England'

The introductory sections of chapters 2 and 3 considered possible links between the use of English and the promotion of a sense of Englishness. For my analysis of the French vocabulary in *HS*, this dimension is left aside given the text's concern with individual salvation and lack of attention for either national politics or the sociolinguistic situation. I have encountered one brief interpretation of *HS* in such light, in Piero Boitani's coupling of Mannyng's 'interest in realism' by including local tales of everyday English life with 'a "national" tendency', but would maintain that the inclusion of such everyday local detail need not in any way reflect nationalist sentiment either in general or linked to the use of English.[29] The subject requires mention, however, because of the scholarly reception of Mannyng's later text, the *Story of England* (*c.* 1338). When Mannyng's claim in *HS* is discussed, reference often is made to the prologue to his chronicle, which is more explicit about the linguistic skills of his intended audience, as quoted above. That linguistic comment has been taken to express a pro-English view of the sociolinguistic situation and a corresponding negative view of the use of French, much as with the prologue to *Of Arthour and Merlin* (*AM*) discussed in chapter 3. For Mannyng, Joyce Coleman has referred to this as a 'much-heralded linguistic populism'.[30] Together with a number of comments critical of the effects of the Norman Conquest, this has led to readings of Mannyng's chronicle that link it to a rising sense of national identity tied to the conscious use of English.[31]

On the one hand, knowing this, the prologue in *HS* takes on additional meaning, with the shadow of the later text suggesting connotations to the promotion of English in the earlier work. On the other hand, we must acknowledge that a reader of *HS* with no access to this information may not have caught that potential meaning when reading the prologue. In addition, we must ask whether Mannyng would already have had the ideas

[29] Piero Boitani, *English Medieval Narrative in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, trans. Joan Krakover Hall (Cambridge: CUP, 1982), p. 25. Boitani does not pursue the idea beyond noting that this interest makes the text 'a significant milestone in the development of England's literary identity'.
[30] Coleman, 'Strange rhyme,' p. 1238.
[31] See, for example, chapter 2 and 3 of Thorlac Turville-Petre, *England the Nation: Language, Literature and National Identity, 1290–1340* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996). On national identity, see 1.4.2.

he expresses in the chronicle at the time he wrote *HS*. It is possible, but with no indication in *HS* to prove this we work from an unsupported inference if we extend his later views to *HS*.

Moreover, as with the prologue to *AM*, a close reading of the lines calls into question the interpretation of his stance as both pro-English and anti-French. The introduction to the prologue in *The Idea of the Vernacular* calls it 'highly elusive'.[32] Coleman has argued that Mannyng's concern is with the aesthetic sensibilities of his audience rather than any sociolinguistic issue. She concludes that Mannyng is 'largely neutral' when it comes to the use of French, while his preference for simple English is due not to his personal preference but the wishes of his audience. 'Mannyng evidently embraced the notion of English linguistic and national identity without feeling the need of a demonized "other" against which that identity could be defined.'[33] His observations on the consequences of the Norman Conquest still tie him in, for Coleman, with a rising national identity, but this is not anti-French, just as Mannyng shows remarkably little anti-Scots sentiment.

If, then, around 1300 there was for anyone an association of the mere fact of one's use of English with ideas of Englishness, or if those that knew Mannyng knew him to have such ideas, then that implication will have been evident to them, but not to subsequent readers, and there is nothing in either of his texts to support such a reading. The presence of a substantial French-derived vocabulary in the text need not surprise us or be the source of discussions on the conflict between style and content, such as for *LB*. It is not the cultural associations of the lexis that provide a potential problem for matching the presence of this English of French origin with the claimed audience. Rather, what remains to be seen is what linguistic proficiency must be supposed in that audience, i.e. how integrated the French element was in the ME vocabulary of the time.[34]

[32] *Idea of the Vernacular*, p. 19.
[33] Coleman, 'Strange rhyme,' p. 1238. Cf. the comment that his chronicle was influenced by French romance in Biggar, 'Mannyng, Robert.'
[34] For the extent to which such proficiency was acquired through formal learning and the distinction between language skill and the general concept of 'learning', see 1.2.

4.1.5 Mannyng's Manuscripts: Bridging the Fourteenth Century

Within my thesis, *HS* fits because it was written around 1300. However, all twelve surviving manuscript witnesses are considerably later, dating to the late fourteenth or fifteenth century, and as Sullens concludes 'none of them reliably reveal the author's original poem'.[35] The three complete versions are based on a revision probably made at some point in the fourteenth century. Although Raymond G. Biggar is critical of Sullens' edition and suggests a different stemma for the manuscripts, he too points out that the manuscripts form a particularly difficult tradition with relations far from clear.[36] The conclusions in Sullens already differ from those reached by Gburek. Biggar gives a more recent brief overview, but does not address the issue of dating. Of most importance are still the three (almost) complete manuscripts, running to almost 13,000 lines: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 415, the base manuscript for Sullens' edition and considered the best copy due to the scribe's precise work (MS B, referred to as MS O in Furnivall); London, British Library, MS Harley 1701, the base manuscript for Furnivall's edition (MS H); and Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS Folger V.b.236 (MS F), not included in Furnivall's variants as it had not yet been discovered.

The aim I have set, of testing the credibility of the author's claim to write for an unlearned audience with little or no knowledge of French, cannot with certainty be met for the text's original audience in the very early fourteenth century. We do not know for certain that the text written for them was the text surviving today. However, given the high level of agreement between the manuscript versions we do have, it is extremely unlikely that these diverge widely from the version created by Mannyng.[37] Moreover, unlike the rare vocabulary studied for *KA* or the few French-derived forms found in one or other version of *LB*, the French-derived vocabulary I discuss for *HS* is a broad selection including many common forms, with many frequently used. That the majority of these forms have been changed in each of the surviving manuscripts compared to the authorial version is very improbable. In what follows, then, I study ME vocabulary of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to comment on the audience of the surviving

[35] Sullens, p. xviii.
[36] Biggar, 'Review of *Robert Mannyng of Brunne*'. The parallel-text critical edition Biggar was working on with Susan A. Schulz was not completed. For a more recent overview of the manuscripts, see Biggar, 'Mannyng, Robert'.
[37] On the agreement between B, F and H, see Sullens, p. xix.

manuscripts, but also draw tentative conclusions about the context in which *HS* was produced. It is worth comment here, finally, that the lack of early copies of *HS* need not indicate a similar lack of interest and popularity. Indeed, it is possible that the text 'rather than circulating orally (unlikely, given its length), existed in copies that were "read to death"'.[38]

4.2 Method, Data Set and Analysis

The method employed for *HS* is similar to that used in chapter 2 to analyse the French-derived vocabulary in *LB*, with the difference that the number French-derived words is much higher in *HS*. This chapter thus gives insight into the breadth of the French-derived vocabulary in fourteenth-century ME, an aspect only glanced at in the previous chapter, where only a selection of French-derived vocabulary was discussed for *KA*. The existence of a concordance of the full vocabulary of *HS* also makes this endeavour more feasible, compared to the selective glossary available for *KA*.[39] Moreover, such a broad analysis is necessary to identify the relationship between the presence of French linguistic elements and the intended audience. The limitations of this method are outlined in 1.5.3.

The concordance also gives an indication of etymology, allowing for relatively quick (though manual) selection of a data set. For *LB*, I also compiled a list of the full French-derived vocabulary by selecting relevant items from the initial search. In doing so, I applied stricter criteria to include items of *exclusively* French origin. For many lexical items that entered the ME lexicon, both Latin and French etymons were current, and the most likely conclusion must be that both played a role in the word's adoption (see 1.5.2.1). When studying the sociocultural implications of French elements, specifically, such words of dual provenance add an unwanted variable. For this reason, and to allow more valid comparison with the vocabulary analysed for *LB*, the same strict selection criteria were applied to the *HS* data. Concerning a much larger number of words than the *LB* data set, this made for a laborious process, even when the decision was made to

[38] Alexandra Barratt, 'Spiritual writings and religious instruction,' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, II, ed. by Nigel Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), pp. 340–66 (p. 356).
[39] Gburek. The glossary to *KA* is included in Smithers, II.

gather attestations only for a selection of the full data set (A–F and S–W).[40] As concluded in 1.5.2.1, a definitive list of words that entered English only from French, with no role from Latin, is unattainable. The method taken gives us a rather conservative selection, however, for which Latin influence will not have been direct or strong.

For *HS*, then, my full corpus consists of all words for which Gburek's concordance of *HS* indicates a (possibly) French origin. For analysis, it is divided into two main lists. The first of these contains words that, according to the criteria set out in 1.5.2.1, clearly primarily derive from French (Appendix 6). The second list contains words of more doubtful etymology or words with forms that cannot rule out Latin or other influences (Appendix 8).[41] My analysis is therefore based primarily on the first list.

Gburek included material from the different manuscripts of *HS*. If a word is found only in one or some manuscripts, he notes this and mention of this is included in Appendix 6. The variants listed at the end of Sullens' edition were also consulted for rare French-derived forms (see 4.6). As such, my analysis is not based on a single witness of the text. It should be noted that the vast majority of words was found in the version represented by MSS B, F and H, between which there is little variation.

Appendix 6 also records the French etymon's entry in the *AND*, where possible. This was included for convenience but also to analyse to what extent the French vocabulary is insular or continental in origin. Forms not found in AF are less likely to have been familiar among a less learned audience. As in chapter 2, almost all words are attested in AF either in this word class or as a related form, and this has consequently not been a focus of my analysis.[42] Compare, for example, Arnould's comment (not elaborated with examples) that Mannyng 'emprunte à l'anglo-normand un nombre considérable de mots qui ne se trouvent pas toujours dans le *Manuel* et, dans ces emprunts, il conserve la plupart des particularités phonétiques et graphiques de l'anglo-normand'.[43]

[40] The remaining data are included in Appendix 9 to facilitate further study, since Gburek's work is not widely available. Words also found in *LB* for the letters G-R were included in the analysis, as were occasional terms for which Gburek's headword fell in the category A-F, or which were noted in Gburek's list of 'nichtenglishe Wörter' (**manuele**).
[41] In contrast to chapter 2, words of possible French origin that were already in use in OE were also excluded from the main data set, given the degree of integration they would have by 1300 and the greater difficulty of ruling out Latin influence.
[42] Only **cainard** has no trace of AF usage, and even in continental French is unattested before the sixteenth century.
[43] Arnould, p. 318.

The list of attestations (Appendix 7) is based on the dated attestations in the relevant *MED* entry, occasionally supplemented by other sources such as *LAEME* and the *DOE*. Where this is so the source is given in a footnote. Details on the procedure and representation of attestations are given in 1.5.3 and the introduction to Appendix 7. My analysis is based on the principles discussed in 1.5.4, concerning patterns of attestations combined with the attestations of synonyms on the one hand, and contextual features indicating a foreign quality to the word on the other. The remainder of this chapter discusses the vocabulary chronologically according to attestations. As with *LB* and *KA*, line numbers are given only as relevant. The final data set comprises 478 French-derived words in *HS*.

4.3.1 Words Attested from 1100 or 1200

We may assume that the words most likely to have been familiar to English speakers of around 1300 with little or no knowledge of French are those attested continuously from 1100 or 1200. The presence of at least one attestation in several consecutive fifty-year periods does not with certainty represent continuous usage and actual integration in the target language. With one use attested *c.* 1220 and another *c.* 1280, there is a sixty-year gap not visible in my data. As noted above, using briefer periods overly relies on the precision of the manuscript dates. With several attestations per fifty-year period, the likelihood that a word was actually used continuously is already greater. Approximately 13% of the words in the main data set have at least one attestation in each period if we amalgamate those from the earliest two.

Only 1% of the total is attested from 1100. Very few words are attested as early as that, and only **charite** ‘charity’, **pes** ‘peace’, **tresour** ‘treasure’, **uncertain**, **werre** (n) ‘war’ and **werren** ‘to war’ have attestations in each period. **Charite** is a semi-learned French form closely connected to Christianity; the familiarity of the Latin word may have aided the adoption of this form. In most accounts of the great influx of French vocabulary after the Norman Conquest, courtly culture is named as one of the main areas in which French vocabulary entered English. As such it seems apt that among the earliest attested words used by Mannyng are **werre**, **werren**, **pes**, **tresour** and **armes** ‘weaponry’, though the latter is attested in a text found only in a later manuscript and is

not attested between 1250 and 1300. Given the frequency of occurrences of these words, we may be relatively confident of their familiarity by 1300.

While those terms fit the traditional account, the other attestations before 1200 highlight the complications of this type of analysis. **Acorden** 'to accord' is attested in an entry in the *Peterborough Chronicle* in 1120–1121, then not again until 1300.[44] The learned environment in which the chronicle was continued does not give reason to suppose the word would have been more widely used in English at that time. However, the picture is complicated further by an attestation for the noun in *The Owl and the Nightingale* (*MED* stencil c1275(?a1216)), a text closely related to the OF *dit* or *débat*. Do we have another isolated instance in a context close to French, is it a sign of continuous usage from the early twelfth century, or from the thirteenth? The cautious conclusion would be that both early uses are isolated.

Various words are attested quite early as bynames (**chaumberlain** 'chamberlain', **courteis** 'courteous', and **sergeaunt** 'sergeant' first between 1150–1200, **baillif** and **baillie** 'bailiff' first between 1200–1250). I have not included these as genuine attestations, because the often documentary context in which these bynames are recorded makes it likely that French or Latin forms were introduced by scribes, so that the recorded names do not necessarily reflect actual English usage (see 1.5.2.1).

If the examples above and other words with attestations for bynames or in texts surviving in later manuscripts are included, the percentage of words attested from 1150 increases from about 1% to 2%. Although many of them appear to have been well-integrated by 1300, they form only a small part of the French-derived vocabulary in *HS*. At least two of them have, however, become part of the core vocabulary of Mannyng's text:[45] **charite** is the sixth most used word in *HS* (used 47 times), and **sire** (only attested as a byname before 1200) is the eighth most used, with 44 tokens. **Vilein** (n) 'villain' may be used only once (11565), but **vileinie** is in the top 20 most frequent words, just as the two uses of **uncertain** (5997, 6690) are matched by 27 for **certain** (adj), the fourteenth most used word in the text.

[44] This part of the Laud MS is from just before the actual Peterborough continuations; due to a fire the entries before 1122 were copied from other versions of the *ASC*. The French vocabulary in *Peterborough* is discussed in Seth Lerer, *Inventing English* (New York: Columbia UP, 2007), pp. 39–53.

[45] Durkin evaluates the long-term impact of loanwords by checking for their presence among the core vocabulary of present-day English (*Borrowed Words: Loanwords in the History of English* (Oxford: OUP, 2014), pp. 38–39 and *passim*). My interest in the situation in the early fourteenth century makes that tool less useful, but considering relative frequencies of use within the text gives some indication of the centrality of these words within their semantic fields.

A larger set of words is attested in each period from 1200–1250 (12% of the total, or 17% if bynames and early texts in later manuscripts are included).[46] With no gaps in attestations for these words, there is no immediate reason to suppose their use was not continuous. Moreover, the frequency with which they appear and the contexts in which Mannyng uses them give no indication he saw them as problematic terms. At one extreme, **saven** 'to save' is used seventy-two times and is neither explained nor used next to a synonym, like **amenden** 'to amend' which is used twenty times. They both concern important concepts within the text. By contrast, **attournen** is used just once in *HS* (5503), though its context of use has no signs of foreignness.

Such signs (introduced in 1.5.4) include the use in stereotypical syntactic contexts, collocation with a limited set of words, the appearance next to synonyms or other definition. The sentences in which **assailen** 'assail' occurs contain several descriptive verbs, but these show successive actions rather than representing the same action with synonyms: 'Ely and hys, þey gunne assayle, | And ouercome hem tweys yn batayle' (4871–72). **Assailen** is prompted especially by *batayle*. Apart from rhyming, the words share a semantic context, and there is no reason to suppose limited integration on the basis of this collocation.

On the whole, there are no clear indications that these words were seen as foreign by Mannyng and it is likely that they had become more or less English by the time he wrote *HS*. The main conclusion for the words attested from 1150–1250 would be that it is not a very large group, of which only those words that are attested in each period are likely to have been well integrated by the time *HS* was written. Most of them were, and some of them are part of the text's most frequently used vocabulary. Next to those already noted with attestations from 1150, a number of others are central in the text. **Grace** is the most used (101 tokens listed in Gburek), and **folie**, **saven** and **manere** are second, third and fifth, respectively. Eleven other words attested in each period from 1200 are used 10 times or more.[47] This confirms the common-sense idea that, as words become more integrated, they take up a more central position in their semantic field,

[46] Taking only those attested in manuscripts dated to 1200–1250, this group includes **amenden**, **assaillen**, **attournen**, **aventure**, **balaunce**, **baroun**, **blamen**, **cacchen**, **chalengen**, **chaste**, **chasten**, **chaumbre**, **chaungen**, **chere** (n 1), **cite**, **comfort**, **crien**, **crois**, **dame**, **delite** (n 1), **deliten**, **deliveren**, **douten**, **ese**, **failen**, **feble**, **fol** (adj), **folie**, **fruit**, **gile** (n 3), **gilen**, **grace**, **hardi**, **manere**, **maumet**, **messager**, **paien**, **povre**, **saven**, **scorn** (n), **scornen**, **scorninge**, **scourge**, **segge**, **sergeaunt**, **servaunt**, **sire**, **strife**, **striven**, **stroien**, **tender**, **traitour**, **treisoun**, **trufle**, **vertu**, **wardein**, and **wasten**.

[47] They are **blamen**, **chaste**, **cite**, **crie**, **deliten**, **doute**, **failen**, **paien**, **traitour**, **treisoun**, and **vertu**.

and become more frequently used.[48] It also provides a telling contrast with the French-derived vocabulary found in either version of *LB*, which we saw in chapter 2 was in most cases used just once or twice alongside native alternatives, even in Otho.

4.3.2 Words Attested between 1200–1250 and after 1300

A necessarily complicated group of words is formed by those with a gap in attestations for the period 1250–1300. Above we already noted some words with gaps in attestations; those unattested in the *MED* in the period 1250–1300 merit discussion as a group, since they are a relatively large number (about 10% of the data set) that needs to be explained. First of all, it should be noted that almost half of these words are only attested before 1300 in a single text, the *Ancrene Wisse*. This is not only another devotional text, but, as Juliette Dor has shown, it uses more French verbs than the contemporary and related set of texts known as the *Katherine Group*.[49] As such it represents a more learned or innovative aspect of the English language in the period 1200–1250. Combined with the gap in attestations, words attested only in this text before 1300 may not have seen further or frequent use, making them relatively new or foreign around 1300. At the same time, this text continued to be copied throughout the thirteenth century (as is evident from the dating of the five different versions present in *LAEME*), and readers would continue to encounter its French-derived vocabulary.

Supplementing the *MED* data with a search of the *LAEME* corpus files modifies the picture, as it reveals uses in other manuscripts of the second half of the thirteenth century, too, that were not included in the *MED*. These words therefore probably saw continuous use in ME, just like those of the previous section. MS Digby 86 provides antedatings for **alas**, **champioun**, **courteisie**, and **emperour**, while **banere** appears in a lyric in London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 499, **chamberlain** is used in the MS Cotton Vitellius D.iii copy of *Floris and Blauncheflur*, and **amendement** and **dette** are

[48] In fact, **manere**, **virtue** and **treisoun** were among the 1000 most common words in English in the early Modern period (Durkin, *Borrowed Words*, p. 340, based on Helsinki Corpus data for 1500–1710).
[49] Juliette de Caluwé-Dor, 'Divergence lexicale entre le *Katherine Group* et l'*Ancrene Riwle*: valeur statistique des premières attestations de mots d'origine française en anglais', *Études Anglaises* 30 (1977), 463–72. Cf. 2.5.3, note 70. Similarly, the majority of French calques in ME attested from 1200 is found in *Ancrene Wisse*; see Anton Adriaan Prins, *French Influence in English Phrasing* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1952), pp. 291–306, also listed in D. Gary Miller, *External Influences on English: From its Beginnings to the Renaissance* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), p. 173. Miller describes the large number of calques for 1200–1225 as constituting a peak, but does not comment on the fact that most of that peak is due to this single text. His extrapolation to the language at large at that time, implied in the comment that the peak 'correlates with the early period' of borrowing from French, thus seems unfounded.

found in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.14.39 (323). For **enchesoun**, the thirteenth century use is uncertain, as it is found in Laud 108, dated in *LAEME* to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.

For those not attested in *LAEME* either, there are two other hermeneutics that can indicate whether these words were used in the gap period (see 1.5.4).[50] Firstly, the use of words from the same word family in that period may point to the familiarity in English of the word itself. This is the case, for example, for **amendement**: the verb **amenden** is attested in the period 1250–1300 (cf. **selen**/**sele** (n 3), **blame/blamen**, **chastien/chaste**/**chasten**). In a most interesting (but also more problematic) example, **custume** is attested once in a vernacular compound in a Latin document of *c.* 1272: 'Idem respondent de ci s. ii d. ob. de redditu termini Sancti Andreae cum le custumpund'.[51] The exact function of the French article in Latin documents is not clear, but it is known to precede vernacular terms, whether French or English, perhaps as a marker to indicate a code-switch.[52] Since **pound** is not found in the *AND* in any form, the compound *custumpund* is probably English. The word is part of the vocabulary of administration and management, so that it would have been used (and probably was coined) by officials who would know French and Latin as well as English. Those without that knowledge would of course be able to use the term, but we have no information whether they knew or used it and the general familiarity of the term in English remains unclear.

The second hermeneutic consists of seeing if synonyms of these terms were used in the intervening period, based on the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (*HTOED*). For **angwisshe**, attested for 1200–1250 in both the *Ancrene Riwle* and *Hali Meidenhad*, it suggests several synonyms. Of these, **threat**, **pining** and **pine** were in use between 1250 and 1300 (**tintrege** is not used after 1225, and **torment** not before 1300 according to *MED*). Of these, **threat** is not attested in the relevant sense and **pining** is just used in the sense 'penance' (in the Nero *Ancrene Riwle* of c1250). **Pine** (n 1) is attested in several senses in this period; for sense 2b, 'mental suffering, anguish', there are attestations from the Caligula *Brut* (*MED* stencil '1275(?a1200)')

[50] The following words are only attested in the *Ancrene Wisse* before 1300: **aqueintaunce**, **auctorite**, **careine**, **depeinten** (though several forms are found of the kind *peint*), **disconfiten**, **entente**, **estat**, and **scroue**.
[51] *MED*, citing F.G. Davenport, *The Economic Development of a Norfolk Manor 1086–1565* (Cambridge: CUP, 1906).
[52] Richard Ingham, 'Mixing Languages on the Manor', *Medium Ævum*, 78:2 (2009), 80–97 (especially pp. 83–84).

and *Floris and Blauncheflur* (in the Auchinleck MS of c1330, but composition dated to 1250). Since **tintrege** was no longer used and the words that were available were used in different senses, of which 'anguish' was not the dominant sense, the adoption of **angwisshe** — and **torment**, used along with **tormentor** and **tormenten** in *HS* — seems unsurprising. However, whether they were already more in use during 1250–1300 remains uncertain. The context in which Mannyng uses them gives no indication of foreignness (with explanations or synonyms), but is also descriptive enough of the situation that knowledge of these words would not be crucial to understanding the main point, as in these lines:

> For whan y þenke on my synne,
> Ful of angwys y am wyþ ynne;
> For heuy berdoun þat y of hem bere,
> Y am confounded myself to were. (11963–66)

Consequently, there is no single conclusion for this group of words; some probably saw more use or were at least familiar, especially if related forms are attested, while others perhaps were not, if synonyms are attested at this time.

4.4 Words Attested from 1250

Like the words attested from 1200, the words in this section have some use at least in writing before 1300 and so may have been familiar by that time, although if the attestation is from just before 1300 it suggests not so much a longer history of use as simply that the word was considered suitable by several authors around 1300.[53] Mostly these words have only a single attestation in this period, becoming more common in the course of the fourteenth century. Together with the shorter time between these attestations and their use in *HS*, this later increase in currency may indicate that these words were not yet well integrated by 1300.

About half of the words in this set have related forms that are only attested from a period after 1300 that are also used in *HS*. It makes good sense that words would enter the language in groups, or that once a word is established related forms could easily

[53] The following 39 words are attested in each fifty-year period from 1250–1300, forming less than ten percent of the words in Appendix 6: **accord**, **acombren**, **age**, **amounten**, **anoien**, **aperen**, **armes**, **assoilen**, **avauncen**, **bataille**, **bigilen**, **bounte**, **catel**, **certes**, **chargen**, **chartre**, **cofre**, **cokewold**, **commaundement**, **compaignie**, **couard**, **coveiten**, **coveitous**, **coveren**, **defaute**, **descriven**, **dol** (n 2), **dragoun**, **envie**, **estre**, **fol-hardi**, **graunten**, **mountaine**, **spouse-breche**, **streit** (adj), **travail**, **travailen**, **trespas**, **verrei**.

come into use as well. The contemporaneous appearance of related forms may point to a longer history of use, if we assume that a single word would have entered the language first. Conversely, a lack of related forms in use in a period, when these related forms come into the language at a later point, may suggest that the words do not have a long history in this language. If a word has been current in the spoken language for some time derivative forms may have been taken up by the time it is written down. While the use of foreign morphology may point to the foreignness of a term, the variety of suffixes shows that even early attestations make use of both foreign and native morphology on foreign stems.

A verb appearing later than the noun (**accord** – **accorden**, **commaundement** – **commaunden**) or a noun entering the language after the verb (**chargen** – **charge**) is no more remarkable than a verbal noun being formed from a verb (**aperen** – **apering**). **Avauncement** appears relatively soon after **avauncen**, while **avaunce** is much later, except in this text. **Certes** bears some relation to **certein**, used from 1300, but the limited context in which **certes** was used would not have helped much for the introduction of **certein**.[54] The later appearance of related forms of the words used here suggests that this half of the words attested from 1250 may not have been very familiar in the period 1250–1300. By the period 1300–1350, however, with most of the related forms also seeing use, these words were probably integrated in English.

For this period, too, using the *HTOED* can indicate to what extent synonyms of these words were used. Interestingly, among the words first attested in this period Mannyng uses various French-derived words for which there were English alternatives in use at the time. **Dragoun**, for example, was not chosen for lack of options: **naddre**, **worm** and **drake** are all attested as 'flying serpent' throughout the ME period.[55] The similarity of **dragoun** to **drake** (which was borrowed from Latin in OE) will have made the introduction of **dragoun** easier. Only one use of **dragoun** in *HS* is in rhyming position (1747), which might explain its appearance. A preference over **worm** may be supposed by its use in *HS* in a different sense (6756; *MED* 2c 'worm of the grave'). Additionally, as a bisyllabic word **dragoun** may have happened to form the easier fit in these lines with regard to verse form.

[54] Other word families involve **coveiten**, **saven**, and **savouren**.
[55] **Naddre** is only attested in this specific sense in the fourteenth century.

A similar case is provided by **envie**. Mannyng uses **envie** for the third deadly sin; in this sense **envie** is also first attested, in 1275. He uses the word four times before the section on envy itself. Each of these four times, it is accompanied by other terms that more or less convey the meaning (*HS* 1345, 1987, 3129, 3640). This might suggest the term was not yet sufficiently known, at least outside its immediate context. The thesaurus includes the early uses of *envie* in two categories, 'jealous feelings' and 'spite, malice'. For 'jealous feelings' the only synonym attested before 1300 is **evest**, an OE word attested several times between 1300 and 1325, but not earlier in ME. Under 'spite, malice' several synonyms are added. **Onde** (n 1) is used up to the fifteenth century and is attested in 1250–1300.[56] **Hatinge** and **tene** (n 2) remained in use during the entire ME period, but are not attested in the relevant sense between 1250 and 1300. **Envie** was thus not the only option and its selection was not out of necessity. However, since Mannyng also used **envie** alongside similar terms until he introduced it properly, it is quite possible that the term was not yet very well known outside of Latin and French discourse when he wrote.

4.5 Words Attested from 1300

By far the largest set of words (almost half the total data set) is formed by those first attested in the period 1300–1350. Thus the major part of Mannyng's French-derived vocabulary appears to consist of words that are first used in writing at around the same time *HS* was written. A quarter of these (10% of the total) may have been in use earlier, since they are attested in texts dated to before 1300 surviving only in later manuscripts, or, for some, as bynames found before 1300. Also about a quarter is part of word families with earlier attestations. This still leaves us with a large number of words used in *HS* without earlier attestations. How is the relatively sudden appearance of this large set of French-derived words to be interpreted? If a word appears in several different texts at around the same time, of different genre and different geographical origin, the most plausible explanation is that the word had been in spoken use in English for some time, spreading from the original adoption. This pattern of multiple attestations between

[56] **Onde** is the main term used for envy in the *Ancrene Wisse*. The replacement of **onde** by **envie** in ME is discussed in Anna Hebda, 'Onde and envy: A diachronic cognitive approach', in *Studies in Old and Middle English*, ed. by J. Fisiak (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2011), pp. 107–26.

1300 and 1350 is found for many in this subset.[57] This interpretation is also supported by the lack of indication in *HS* that these words were considered foreign or problematic. The alternative, rather harder to explain, is to posit that several authors felt a sudden need for the form around the same time. What remains unanswered is why these words entered the written record during this specific period, and how long they may have been used in ME speech before. Also noteworthy is the trend that most of the words used in *HS* and first attested in this period became relatively common at least in ME. If these early written uses derive from spoken ME, this makes sense, as words restricted to the written domain tend to remain more rare outside their specific contexts of use.

The contexts in which the language of multilingual speakers came in contact with monolingual English speakers, allowing for words to spread widely, will have involved not just the professional situations sketched in 1.2, but also, highly relevant for the vocabulary used in *HS* and its exempla, the pulpit. After the Trinity and Lambeth Homilies (both c1200), no sermon collections survive until the fourteenth century. From the collections that do survive it is clear that sermons were not written down habitually. As oral medium, then, they provide one probable mode of transmission for the assimilation of this large set of French-derived vocabulary during the thirteenth century.[58] That century, after all, the increased attention to pastoral care that occasioned the genre of the *Manuel* and *HS* led to a similar push in preaching.[59] This may be an alternative explanation for the great number of words found in *HS* not attested in other texts before 1300.

Among these words we find again numerous words related to courtly culture and religion, such as **daunce** 'dance', **dauncen** 'to dance', **delicious**, **desert** (n 1 'deserving'), **dinen** 'to dine', **diner** 'dinner', **dishonour**, **devis** 'intent', **dressen** 'to dress', **sacrilege**, **se** (n 2, 'see, diocese'), and **seignorie** 'lordship'. Apart from being linked to prestigious French culture, they often have a specialised meaning for which ME did not have an exact equivalent. Using the historical thesaurus, we see that **daunce**

[57] Processing the *MED* attestations the pattern was sufficiently evident to allow this conclusion, but my binary yes/no analysis precludes me from indicating proportions.
[58] For an examination of how such learning could operate for Latin, see Melissa Furrow, 'Unscholarly Latinity and Margery Kempe', in *Studies in English Language and Literature: 'Doubt wisely' Papers in honour of E.G. Stanley*, ed. by M.J. Toswell and E.M. Tyler (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 240–51. Macaronic sermons demonstrate the extent to which some preachers, at least, thought in both Latin and English; the role of French is not as evident, and has not seen as much study.
[59] The classic study is G. R. Owst, *Preaching in medieval England: an introduction to sermon manuscripts of the period, c. 1350–1450* (Cambridge: CUP, 1926); cf. Barratt.

and **dauncen** did not so much fill a gap as replace existing terms, and probably owe their success to the status of the activity described among the higher echelons of society. They join verbs such as **friken** (attested *c.* 1200 and *c.* 1400), **hoppen** (frequently attested) and **leden** (in some senses) and nouns like **hoppinge**. **Dinen** in its general sense came next to **eten** 'eat', but introduced the element of having the 'main meal of the day', just as **diner** was used in the general sense of **mel** (n 2) but also added the element of 'main meal of the day'. The question of how integrated the words in this subset were cannot be answered with certainty. However, the hypothesis that many of these had been in use in spoken ME combined with earlier attestations of related forms for many words in this category suggests that most were not brand-new additions to the ME lexicon when Mannyng used them.

4.6.1 Words Attested from 1350 or 1400

This set of words is most problematic to Mannyng's claim of writing for an unlearned audience, since they show him possibly pioneering, introducing French terminology, especially for those terms not attested before 1400 or 1450 except in his works: **abaven** 'be surprised', **accountour** 'accounter', **agraunten** 'to grant', **avaunce** (n 'advancement'), **bonairte** 'kindness', **consentour** 'consenter', **covenaunt** 'covenant', **custumable** (adv and adj 'customar(il)y'), **custumabli** (adj), **custumer** (adj 'accustomed'), **encombre** 'trouble', **febling** 'weakening', **manuele** (n 'manual'), **sacre** (n 2 'consecration'), **sisour** 'assizer', **traitourhede** 'traitorhood' and **vauncen** 'advance'. It is quite a small set, though, even when we add the words attested from 1350. Together these words form about a fifth of the vocabulary studied here. That may still seem like a large proportion, given Mannyng's claimed audience, but examination of the words reveals few that could have posed problems for understanding.

Some are attested earlier in a different word class, like **certain**, **coveitous** and **encombre** as nouns and **covenaunt** as adjective. Later uses like those in *HS* often remained rare. This also applies to **chastisen**/**chasisinge**/**chasten**/**chastien**/ **chastisement**, **sacre**/**sacring**, **apperinge**/**apeiren**, **certainte/certain** and no less than five derivative forms of **custume** next to **custume** itself, attested from 1200.

More problematic is **abreggen**, which extends the OF sense and the main sense as given in the *MED*. Either this sense was innovative in *HS*, or the sense development

indicates the word had been in use in English before it was recorded in *HS*. If this word was mostly unknown in English around 1300, though, it would form an exception. The other forms in this section are attested relatively early compared to further use, but they are unlikely to have been problematic terms for comprehension. They show more a creative attitude to syntax and morphology than a preference for rare French vocabulary.

4.6.2 Unattested and Foreign Words

Mannyng uses a few words that are otherwise unattested in the *MED* and *OED*: **borgh-gage** 'a sponsor's pledge' (9583), **chauncefulliche** 'perhaps' (10683), **com-mare** 'godparent' (9873), *countre-paye* (12163; see Appendix 6), *custome-houses* 'customs houses' (5585), **esquaimous** 'squeamish' (7250) and **stouten** 'to defy' (2948 etc.). Most of these are compounds of more familiar elements, however, like *custome-houses*, a different word class for a common word, like **stouten** as verb rather than adjective, or morphologically deviant forms of familiar words, like **chauncefulliche** and **esquaimous**. In this way even most of Mannyng's *hapax legomena* are no more problematic than the words in the previous subset. Concerning **esquaimous**, for example, **squaimous** is attested from 1300, but **quaimous** only from 1430. Since **esquaimous** is attested only once it is probably just a variant of **squaimous**, maintaining initial <*e-*>. Given its single occurrence and single-letter deviance from other entries, when variants (even with very different spellings) are usually included in a single entry, the inclusion of **esquaimous** as a single entry in the *OED* is probably due to the fact that this is a first edition entry, not revised since 1891.[60] It is used in *HS* to rhyme with *daungerous*, which has an unusual sense taken directly from the corresponding passage in the *Manuel*, but no form of **escoimus** is in that passage to have prompted its use in *HS*. As the lines describe one of the forms of gluttony prevalent among rich men, the relatively French form used in this passage might be imitative of their speech, more influenced by French than the average ME of the day, but this is speculation. Whether this effect, if present, would go back to Mannyng is also

[60] Under **squaimous**, the *MED* etymology reads 'From AF **escoimus**, **escoymous** & ME **esquaimŏus** (Suppl.)'. No supplement to the *MED* contains such additional information, and the print edition has an identical note.

unclear, though no variants for this line are recorded in either Sullens' or Furnivall's edition.

A term of which the appearance in *HS* is harder to explain, however, is **com-mare**, for which the *DOE* notes two attestations not listed in the *MED*. The *OED* quotes *HS* in its entry for **cummer | kimmer**. The next attestation is in 1513, with the sense 'godmother' only attested again in 1600, perhaps only in Scottish usage. Whether these uses are related remains doubtful, especially since the occurrence in *HS* may have been prompted by the source. A form **com-moder** from 1450 is included in the *MED*; the etymological note suggests it was modelled on Latin **commater**.

In addition to the words listed above, there is a group of words listed by Gburek as *nichtenglisch* words, which includes the French terms **de** (82), *sy moy veyes* (2938), *saunȝ* (*fayle*) (6025), and *bele amye* (10621). All but the second phrase are found in other ME texts, with some regularity, but they remained distinctly French, as concluded in *MED* entries for some of them (e.g. on **de**, there the note that it is 'nearly always replaced by of in early ME, often retained in later ME; questionable status as ME').[61] Interesting in this context is also the word **manuele**, used in the context of the title of Mannyng's source. The prologue explains the meaning of the word and the origin of the English title, which might also indicate the foreignness of the term, but the *Manuel* itself also provides an explanation of its title.

In all, most of the unique and foreign words used in *HS* would provide little difficulty to those with little knowledge of French, consisting of familiar elements, occurring in other ME texts or being explained, leaving very few truly rare items. This is in keeping with the pattern that emerged in the previous sections.

4.7 Conclusion

On the whole, Mannyng's French-derived vocabulary is in keeping with the general development of the English vocabulary around 1300–1350. Less than a quarter of the words appear to have been in continuous use from before 1250, so his language was not particularly conservative. This is also clear from the large group of words that was only just starting to come into the (written) language. Neither was it far ahead of its time, not using much vocabulary that is unlikely to have been familiar to an English-speaking

[61] Because they are not in the main concordance they have not been included in the lists of the appendices. On *veyes*, see 5.4, 5.5 and 6.4; on **sauns** in ME, see 3.2.

audience. About a fifth of the words are not attested until after 1350 or 1400, but of these most have related forms that were already in use in Mannyng's time, according to attestations. Taking into account possible gaps in the data, these words may even have been attested earlier. While the possibility that Mannyng's claim in his prologue was primarily conventional and possibly part of his attempt to target a specific audience cannot be ignored, his use of vocabulary in *HS* accords well with that claim. The question raised by the large set of vocabulary attested from 1300 also highlights the likelihood that much of the vocabulary was already in use in the spoken language, further explaining why Mannyng may have felt at ease using it in addressing the *lewed*.

However unlearned its audience was intended to be, the author of *HS* was well at home in the French and English of his time and, more importantly, did not feel that the French element in his English provided an impediment to the understanding of his intended audience, placing too high demands on them. By the time the manuscripts were produced, this much may be stated with confidence. Even for the early fourteenth century this conclusion seems to be warranted.

Chapter 5: French Elements in Their Textual Context

5.1 Introduction and Summary of Data Analysis

Having seen what French-derived vocabulary there is in Laȝamon's *Brut*, *Kyng Alisaunder*, and *Handlyng Synne*, it is now necessary to address in detail what would have been the resulting demands on the linguistic proficiency of the readers or listeners. As noted in 1.3, the language use of literary texts provides one source of information on their intended audiences. This question is therefore central to the make up of possible audiences for these ME texts to be considered in chapter 6. Chapter 5 furthers my investigation of the demands placed on the reader by the texts' use of French-derived vocabulary by looking in more detail at the immediate context of the French elements in the three texts. After a summary of the findings of the previous chapters, detailing the French-derived vocabulary in *LB*, *KA*, and *HS*, I therefore consider whether it is found more in certain parts of the texts than in others (5.2), then turn to the relation to the source text (5.3) and then register (5.4). Finally, I consider the more general representation of multilingualism and that of France and the French language and people (5.5). The first of these allows me to relate the use of French elements in these texts to the general ideas about language variation expressed in them and to compare their representation of French with that of other languages. The second aspect considers the cultural implications of France and the French people in these texts, leading to the question of the extent to which those implications reflect on the French-derived vocabulary.

The order of chapters 2, 3 and 4 was determined by the relative dates of the surviving manuscripts of the texts concerned, but did not show a simple cline of increase in French usage with the passage of time. The two late thirteenth-century manuscripts of *LB*, the oldest text, certainly contain fewer French-derived items than *KA* and *HS*. The next in age, however, is *KA* (for which an early fourteenth-century fragmentary version survives in the Auchinleck manuscript) and it is much more French in character than the later *HS*. It is not so much that it contains more French-derived vocabulary than *HS*, but that it uses rarer French elements and in a more striking way. *HS* only survives in manuscripts dated to the very late fourteenth century and thus came last, but as noted uses fewer rare French-derived words than *KA*.

On the one hand this is useful in reminding us that the amount and type of French-derived lexis in a ME text depends on more factors than its date of composition, as was also noted for e.g. the *Ancrene Wisse* (see 4.3). On the other hand, the estimated or known dates of composition for *KA* and *HS*, *c.* 1300 versus between 1303 and 1317, are very close together, so that a difference need not be expected even if *HS* only survives in later manuscripts. These do not with certainty reflect the language of the very early fourteenth century, but probably do, given the limited variation between the surviving complete versions (although this may also be due to a common exemplar that was updated compared to the authorial version). The way these texts handle French vocabulary will have depended on many factors, from their purpose and intended audience to the genre(s) they operate in and the style the authors favoured or considered suitable (see 5.4 and 6.5).

In *LB*, the analysis confirms the impression, much discussed in *Brut* scholarship, of a relatively small number of French-derived lexical items. However, the Caligula *Brut*, which generally favours a style more reminiscent of Anglo-Saxon culture, also contains several French-derived words uniquely used in English, or otherwise only rarely used. Although several may alternatively be derived from OE lexis, so that we must be cautious about making too much of these, a total avoidance of French lexical items, even rare ones, cannot be claimed for the Caligula redactor. The use of these rare words appears to have been for stylistic purposes, as Richard Dance found for the use of rare terms of ON origin in *LB* (see 2.4).

In the Otho *Brut*, meanwhile, my findings emphasise that the French-derived words found in that version only were for the most part well integrated by 1300, with most probably in use by 1200, so that their absence in Caligula is stranger than their presence in Otho. On the other hand, it must also be stressed that most of these words are used just once in Otho, while the words of OE origin used in Caligula to express these concepts almost all occur at some point in Otho, too. They may have been normal words to use in ME, but within the text, they do not form the major stylistic force. Hence the difficulty faced by those who assume Caligula to have been produced first, and seek to explain Otho as an attempted stylistic revision, generally resolved by concluding it was simply a half-hearted, inconsistent or even incompetent attempt. The opposite seems just as possible, however, given these findings: if Otho was produced first, and was a successful attempt at writing in a certain style, then we may conclude that Caligula

subsequently improved on the attempt by removing even perfectly normally used French elements which were still present in Otho.

In *KA*, in contrast, earlier scholarship had noted a markedly French character in the text, due in great part to the use of highly French-derived vocabulary, as well as the presence of many calques. My analysis confirms this, showing that a number of words must have been taken directly out of French by the author, independently of his source. It also shows that for the majority of these words a use in insular French is either attested or probable. For the bilingual elite, then, they would have been familiar. Moreover, they appear next to an extensive but well-integrated French-derived vocabulary also in the form of the unusually frequent use of rhyme tags such as *saun faile* and several instances of French speech by characters. The appearance of the rare vocabulary, or of the French speech, thus cannot be considered an 'eruption' of French, as suggested by Christopher Baswell, but in a large part of the text must be seen as forming a continuous presence in the text's ME.

In *HS*, lastly, my analysis shows that the French-derived vocabulary found in this text is compatible with the claim it makes about writing for an unlearned audience. Even those words which appear to be rare and thus in conflict with that claim, almost all prove to be deviant only in morphology (e.g. a common word in an unusual word class, or an adverb in <-*le*>), or familiar from related forms attested earlier. Nevertheless, it is notable how extensive the French-derived vocabulary is, and with what ease the author appears to handle it, given the text's composition at the very start of the fourteenth century and its suggested audience.

5.2 Place within the Texts

So far, my analysis of the ways in which French-derived vocabulary in these ME texts is employed has only considered the words' attestations and immediate context. It is also relevant to consider whether there are any clusters of this vocabulary. This is also one of the aspects examined by Janne Skaffari in his discourse analysis of early ME texts.[1] His study focussed on *Sawles Warde*, a much shorter text than *LB*, *KA* or *HS*. A full analysis of the spread of the French-derived vocabulary in either of my main texts

[1] Janne Skaffari, 'Lexical borrowings in early Middle English religious discourse,' in *Discourse perspectives on English*, ed. by Risto Hiltunen and Janne Skaffari (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2003), pp. 77–104.

would be a project in itself. The following preliminary analysis instead makes use of the data gathered for chapters 2, 3 and 4 to give an overall conspectus of the kinds of conclusions that may be drawn and the uses of considering the distribution of this vocabulary. In this, I consider whether any patterns that emerge can be related to subject matter. Those passages found to contain more French-derived vocabulary than the rest of a text are examined for what they may reveal about the register in which this vocabulary appears (in 5.4) and in relation to the source text (in 5.3).

It must be emphasised that the resulting information is of a very different kind for the three texts, since the data gathered in chapters 2, 3 and 4 differed. For *LB*, this consists of the entire French-derived vocabulary (Appendix 1), though I have not attempted to produce a full concordance, so that for words used more than once some uses will be missing. Thus, the data covers all types, but not all tokens. For *KA*, only the rare vocabulary was analysed, but for those words I recorded all uses. For this text I can examine distributions and contexts of tokens as well as types, but only for the rare French-derived vocabulary (Appendices 4 and 5). For *HS*, the full set of words I analysed is of such size that using the line numbers given in Gburek's concordance to determine their distribution would, again, be a project in itself. I therefore consider only the rarest words, as found in 4.6.2, and a selection of the commonest French-derived words, described in more detail below.

5.2.1 Distribution of French-Derived Vocabulary in Laȝamon's 'Brut'

Turning first to the vocabulary of *LB*, the graphs below are the result of adding up the number of French-derived words included in my data set per 1000 short lines of Madden's edition, based on the line numbers included in Appendix 1 (corresponding to 500 long lines in Brook and Leslie). The information in the appendix is derived in large part from studies that used Madden; consequently, Madden's numbering is used in this section, with Brook and Leslie's numbering given in square brackets. The analysis was done in two ways. For the first, each token, i.e. individual uses of words, was counted, while for the second only types, i.e. unique words, were considered within each section. For example, both versions use **ginne** 'ingenuity, scheme' twice between lines 2001–3000, at 2374 [1187] and 2846 [1671]. These count as two tokens but only one type, while uses in other sections are counted as type for that section. As my data set does not

constitute a full concordance, with all uses of each word included, neither the graphs below nor the total number of tokens should be seen as a reflection of the complete French-derived vocabulary in *LB*.

Figure 1 below presents the number of types and tokens for each section of the Otho *Brut* and Figure 2 for the Caligula *Brut*. The average number of tokens per 1000 lines for Caligula is 2.3 (2.1 for types). For Otho, this is clearly higher, with 4.3 tokens and 3.8 types. The outcome for types and tokens is remarkably close, with only 4 types in Caligula used twice in sections, and never more often than twice. Similarly, 10 types are used twice in their sections in Otho, but never more than that. Therefore, in the following I consider only tokens. The total number of tokens included is 72 for Caligula and 138 for Otho. Figure 3 presents a comparison of their distribution in Otho and Caligula.

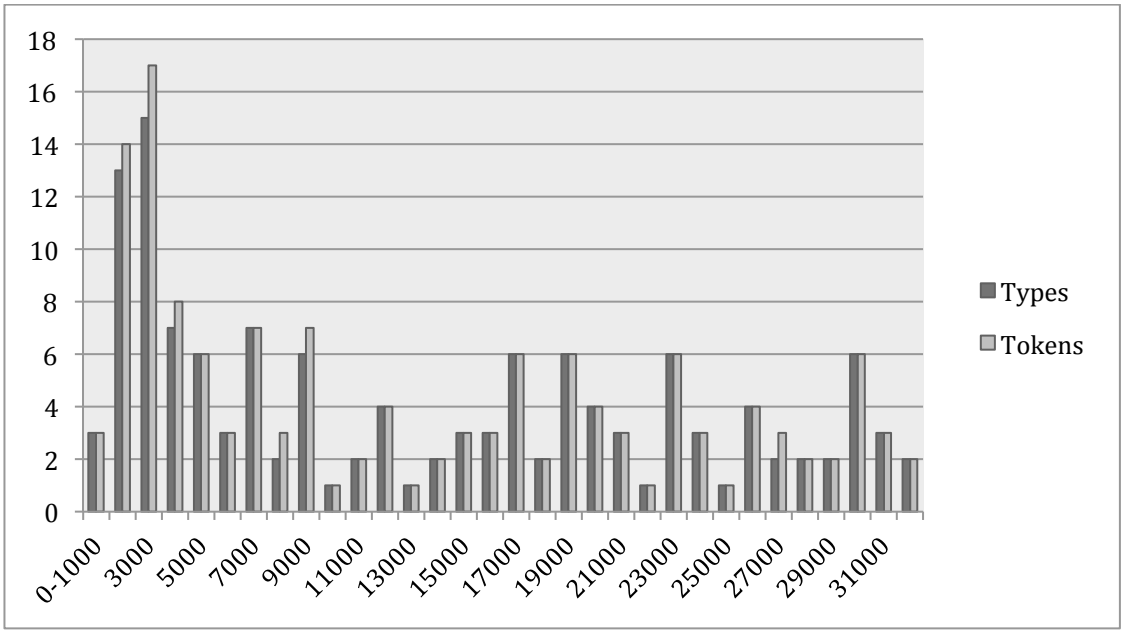

Figure 1: Frequency of types and tokens of French-derived vocabulary per 1000 lines of the Otho *Brut*

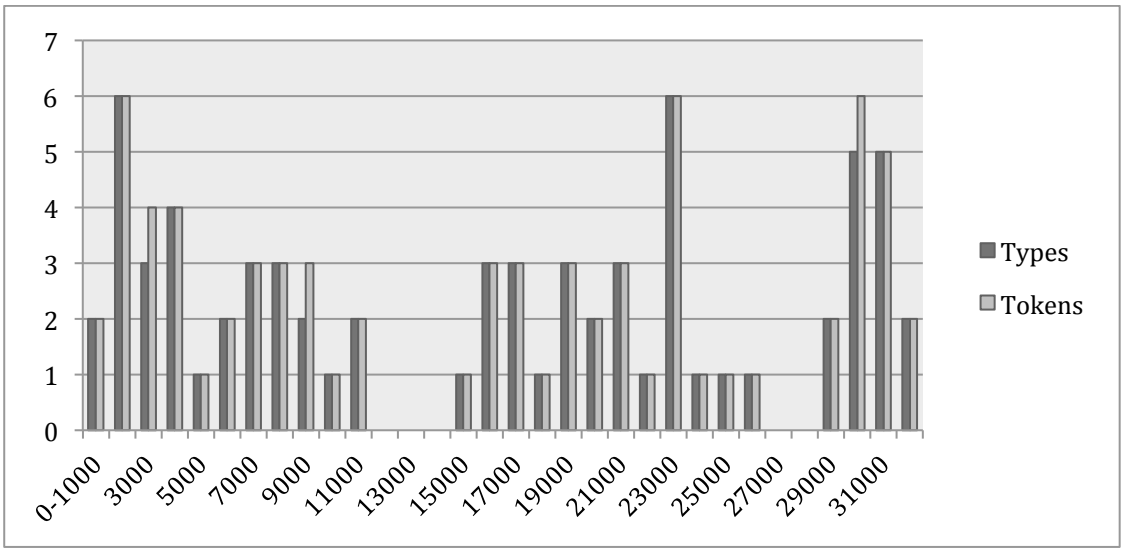

Figure 2: Frequency of types and tokens of French-derived vocabulary per 1000 lines of the Caligula *Brut*

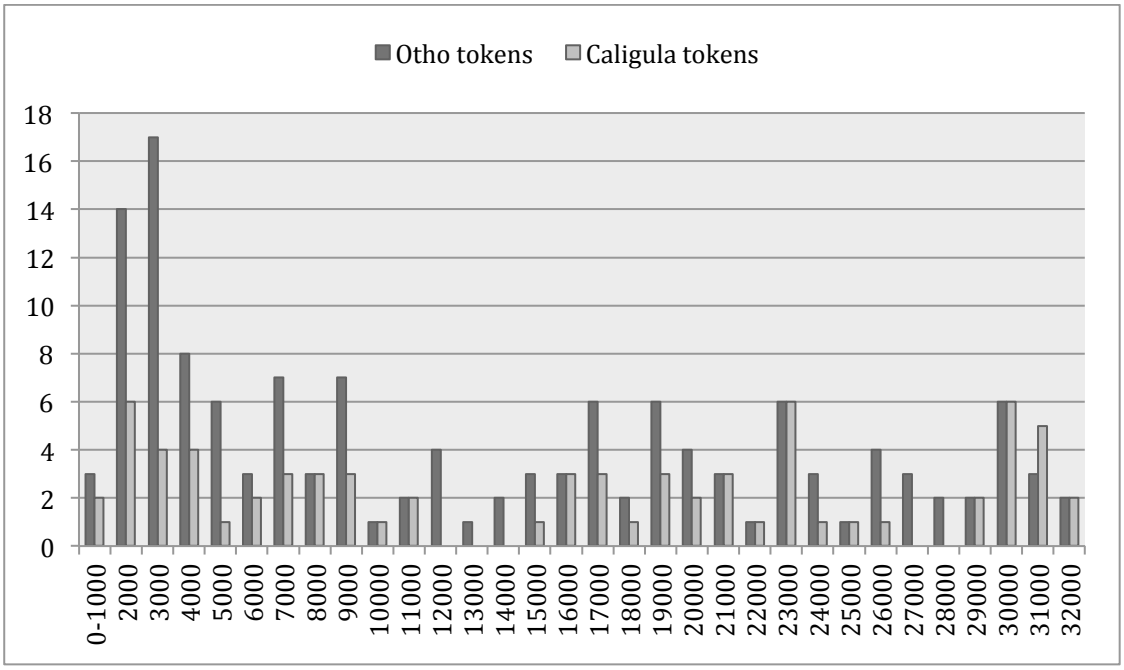

Figure 3: Frequency of French-derived vocabulary per 1000 lines of the Otho and Caligula *Brut* (tokens)

For Otho, while we can see relatively stable numbers of between 0 and 8 from about line 4000 (i.e. the column labelled 5000, which covers lines 4001 to 5000), there are overall more French-derived words in the opening section of the poem, with a large peak between lines 1000 and 3000. This is due in part to the fact that for **ginne**, found three times in this section, I recorded only the first few uses (as for some other

frequently used words). If these were all included fully the difference between the two parts of the poem would be smaller. Nevertheless, this cannot fully explain the peaks of 14 and 17 uses in lines 1000–3000 [503–1498], for the other words used more than once in this section have no later uses in the text that have not been included. Therefore, this section merits closer examination.

5.2.1.1 Clusters of French-Derived Vocabulary in Otho

In content, this part of the text leads from Brutus' departure with his men from Greece to seek a land of their own, through their journey, Diana's prophecy of an island they can inhabit, the sojourn in Spain and a stopover-turned-war in France to the arrival in Britain, defeat of the giants, and earliest rulers up to the beginning of Leir's story. There is nothing in there that would occasion the use of French-derived vocabulary: the setting and events are no more courtly or chivalric than later in the poem. There are some interactions with France, but these are not the moments when the French-derived vocabulary is used.

Only **dousse-per** is prompted by the French context, as Laʒamon explains that, at that time, there were twelve *iveres* 'companions' in France who were called *dosseperes* (1620–22 [813]).[2] Otho's single use of **park** is found when Brutus's men hunt in Poitou (where Caligula uses **frith** (n 2) 'royal forest'). Is it used as particularly apt for the speech of Numbert, the local Poitevin knight sent to find out their purpose, or is it simply a normal word for that concept? Or was it preferred for metrical reasons? There is no reason to think the first of these is more probable.

Moreover, other French-derived words used in this passage are **werre** 'war', **pes** 'peace', **scorninge** or **ginne**, which are also used in several other passages in Otho. Why so many of them occur in lines 1000–3000 remains a mystery. Perhaps an author-translator would be more influenced by the style of his source text earlier on in a project, just like scribes tend to treat their exemplar differently when they begin copying.[3] However, beside the fact that this could not be proven, such an interpretation

[2] See chapter 2.3 on possible ironic use of the term.

[3] See the section on 'progressively translated texts' in Michael Benskin and Margaret Laing, 'Translations and *Mischsprachen* in Middle English Manuscripts,' in *So meny people longages and tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh*, ed. by Michael Benskin and M. Samuels (Edinburgh: The Editors, 1981), pp. 55–106 (pp. 65–69).

would not account for the very low number of French-derived words in the first 1000 lines.

One short passage within these two sections, on the conflict between Corineus, duke of Cornwall, and Locrin, king of the British, contains several French-derived words. Corineus, having learned that Locrin intends to spurn his daughter Gwendoleine (to whom Locrin was betrothed) in favour of the foreign Estrild, is described within a few lines as being 'anued and wo on his mode' (2259–60 [1130]) but also that he carried 'bi his harsun; | one gisarme stronge' (2263–64 [1132]).[4] A few lines on, facing Locrin, he calls out 'sei me ebare fol' (2271 [1136]). On twelve other occasions, two French-derived words are found close together in Otho, usually the same word repeated, but this is the only instance when four words are found close together (**anoien** 'to annoy', **arsoun** 'saddlebow', **gisarme** 'battle-axe', and **fol** 'fool'). Explaining this cluster is very hard. Do the words appear in Corineus' response because they match with his status as duke? Twice in the lines before this cluster of words he has been referred to as *dux* (2246, 2250 [1123, 1128]). But kings and other lords are introduced in the narrative with great frequency, become annoyed in many cases, and arm themselves or insult others almost as often. There is no hint in the content of the passage to explain why this one, among all others, would prompt an increased use of French-derived vocabulary.

The converse, sections with remarkably few French-derived words, would also be interesting to consider. For Otho, however, 10 of the 32 sections have just one or two tokens, with another 12 just three or four. These sections cannot be said to stand out because of their low number of tokens, and I have not examined them further. In Caligula, five sections have no uses of French-derived vocabulary. Here, too, the difference with the majority of other sections is slight, with 14 sections that have one or two tokens, so that this too is unlikely to reflect a difference between these sections. In the graph, the absence of uses in three consecutive sections, lines 11000–14000 [5487–6986], looks striking, but the settings and topics have the usual variation: this part of the text deals with the invasions by Melga and Warin, along with other outlaws, appeals to Rome and Brittany for help, Constantin's rule, Vortiger's rule through Constance, and the arrival of Hengest and Horsa.

[4] For 'carried' both versions of the *Brut* have *lædde*/*ladde*. This is included under **leden** (v 1) 'to lead', in sense 6 (d) 'to have (a weapon, a light), carry; wear (armor)'.

5.2.1.2 Clusters of French-Derived Vocabulary in Caligula

The peaks in the graph for Caligula are much smaller than those in Otho, rising to a maximum of six tokens on three occasions (lines 1001–2000, 22001–23000 and 29001–30000). This is only a few more than in most sections and as such they are less in need of explication. Of course, the graphs above consider only large sections of the poem, and may well obscure smaller clusters. Going over the sorted list of line numbers from which I generated the graph, I also marked any that lay within thirty lines from one another. In Caligula, this is almost never the case: there are just two such clusters of French-derived words.

The first of these comes at the point in the narrative when Brutus, having received advice from Diana in her temple, sets out for Britain, encountering pirates and mermaids before landing in Spain (lines 1282, 1313, 1323 and 1336 [643, 658, 663, 670]). The French-derived words in this passage are **mountaine** 'mountain', **boune** 'boundary stone', and twice **ginne**. Otho uses each of these except for **mountaine**, in place of which it has another French-derived word, **contree**. The first two, **mountaine** and **boune**, describe particular landmarks Brutus and his men pass. In addition, the passage contains **flum** 'river' (1300 [652]), also describing one of the foreign regions they pass, in this case a river *Maluan* by which they arrive in Mauritania for a chance to pillage.[5]

Although **mountaine** was probably already well integrated in English by the time of the *Brut* manuscripts, and possibly in Laȝamon's day, the other terms are more unusual and may have added a subtle touch of the foreign to this description of foreign lands (on **boune**, see 2.4). It may be their rarity more than French origin that prompted the use. **Ginne** is used both times of the mermaids they encounter before Spain. The word was already used more often in ME and is also found at other points in both versions of *LB*, so that it will not have seemed foreign. Its appearance in this passage is thus of a different kind.

The second notable passage in Caligula (22485–97 [11220–33]) consists of the occurrence of both **sire** and **dubben** 'to knight' in a speech by the king of Iceland as he submits to Arthur. Consisting of only two French-derived words, it is doubtful whether this should be considered a cluster. Both forms also occur in Otho at this point. In both

[5] **Flum** was excluded from the main data set because a role for Latin in its adoption into English cannot be excluded. It is frequently found in twelfth-century AF texts.

Otho and Caligula, **dubben** is used at other points, too, but **sire** appears only here. The close occurrence of these two words associated with feudal relations and chivalry matches the content of the moment. This is remarkable only in light of Laȝamon's tendency, demonstrated by Françoise Le Saux, to translate culturally, which usually includes translating the concept of chivalry into different terms. At this moment when **sire** occurs uniquely in *LB*, the language of chivalry shines through for a moment, emphasising Arthur's unique status in Laȝamon's version of history.[6] Three quotations in the *MED* also contain both words (though in two of them, **sire** refers to the person being knighted rather the lord), suggesting they may have formed a collocation in ME.

In addition, the term is used here in the lead-up to Arthur's peak achievement. This section of *LB* is greatly expanded compared to Wace.[7] The passage follows directly on the submission of the Irish king Gillomar, whose address to Arthur begins *Lauerd Arður* (22375 [11165]). It is followed by three more kings giving Arthur their lands, culminating in the twelve-year peace that is the pinnacle of Arthur's reign. Where Wace just mentions that they submitted to Arthur, Laȝamon includes speeches for all of them. However, these other speeches do not feature French-derived vocabulary in Caligula, though several other terms appear in Otho. In the first of them, Gillomar's speech, there is no French-derived vocabulary in Caligula.[8] In Otho, **hostage** is used twice, commonly used in Otho where Caligula uses native English **gisel** 'hostage'. The subsequent submission of Alcus is an elaboration to the brief comment in Wace, which does not mention or name the king:

> Quant Artur out cunquis Irlande,
> Trespassez est jesqu'en Islande;
> La terre prist tute e cunquist
> E a sei tute la suzmist (9703–06)

[6] Françoise Le Saux, *Layamon's 'Brut': The Poem and its Sources*, Arthurian Studies XIX (Cambridge: Brewer, 1989), pp. 60–72.

[7] Compare Wace's thirty-line section (lines 9699–730) with Laȝamon's (22373–718 in Madden, i.e. 345 short lines, 11164–334 in Brook and Leslie, i.e. 170 long lines). Caligula uses no French-derived words here that are found also in the scene in Wace. In Otho, just two of six French-derived words in the English passage go back to the source: *wasti* (22580 [11265]) corresponds to Wace's *guastast* (9718) and **hostage** Otho (22378 [11166], 22384 [11169]) is found in Wace at line 9701 and 9726. The French equivalent to **werre** is found in Wace here and used elsewhere in both versions of *LB*, but not in this passage (*guerre*, line 9667).

[8] It is doubtful whether Laȝamon's use of **riche** should be seen as influenced by OF, instead of being derived from OE **rice**; hence, this word has been excluded from consideration (see Appendix 2). Cf. Wace, lines 9699–702.

This victory is followed by the submission of the lords of Orkney, Gotland and the Wends, La3amon adding several speeches to Wace's brief description.[9] A flurry of formal submissions builds up to Arthur's successful maintenance of peace and is given a lot of emphasis by La3amon. The use of **sire** thus comes at a suitable moment. Why it is only used in one of these five speeches remains hard to explain; **sire** does not alliterate and no clear rhythmic effect is evident. The only difference is that Alcus alone welcomes Arthur in his own land, and is therefore the only one to use *wolcome*. Gillomar, the Irish king, was captured before submitting, and the remaining lords are sent for by Arthur. We are thus dealing with a different political situation.

The clusters of French-derived vocabulary in Caligula, then, are few and differ in nature. The first contains a few unusual words that may add an impression of foreignness to a description of foreign lands (as well as containing a few unremarkable and unrelated uses of more integrated words, **mountaine** and **ginne**). The second taps into the chivalric associations of French. Both effects are rather small and the main conclusion must remain that in Caligula French-derived vocabulary occurs here and there, with very little stylistic differentiation. These few instances amount to little given the length of the text, 32,241 half-lines in Madden and 16,095 in Brook and Leslie.[10]

In Otho, by contrast, small clusters of French-derived vocabulary occur nineteen times, due to Otho's occasional repetition of a French-derived lexical item within a passage, as when Brutus sends out *spiares* 'spies' who are referred to again with that word two lines later (1488–92 [746–48]). The single larger cluster was already discussed above. Beyond a few interesting clusters, in sum, the French-derived vocabulary is spread evenly in both versions. The extent to which the few clusters may be explained has proved very limited. Although this investigation was preliminary and any conclusion must thus be tentative, it suggests that perhaps there is no pattern to be discovered.

[9] See 22557 [11256]; 22592–93 [11274–84]; and 22645–46 [11300–15]. On the Wends, see Roland Blenner-Hassett, *A Study of the Place-Names in Lawman's 'Brut'*, Stanford University Publications Language and Literature IX.1 (Stanford: Stanford UP / London: OUP, 1950), p. 67.
[10] On this difference, see 2.1.

5.2.2 Distribution of French-Derived Vocabulary in 'Kyng Alisaunder'

For *KA*, with full line numbers available for the rare vocabulary only, I listed the line numbers in which these words were used, adding them up per 500-line section of the poem. This resulted in the count of tokens (i.e. unique uses) reported in Figure 4. As for *LB*, when a word was repeated within a section, the subsequent uses were disregarded for the count of types, also given in Figure 4. A rare French-derived word is found between 1 and 12 times per 500-line section, with an average of 5.2 tokens or 4.8 types, so approximately once per 100 lines. In four of sixteen sections, there is a slight difference between the number of types and tokens. This is due to the repetition of **acost** 'alongside' (adv), a word used more than once in several sections, and of **veire** (adv) 'truly', used next to the common form **verreiment**. They are part of the author's normal vocabulary even if rare in ME. Lastly, in lines 6001–6500, **butumei** 'pitch' is repeated due to the content of the passage, as it is the substance Alisaunder uses to seal in the peoples of Gog and Magog. Neither peak in tokens in Figure 4 is in need of further explication. Similarly, there is no great need to analyse the two sections with only a single rare French-derived word, since these contain only two or three fewer than most sections. Their content shows the usual variation. Instead, my analysis focuses on the peak in types in lines 3001-3500.

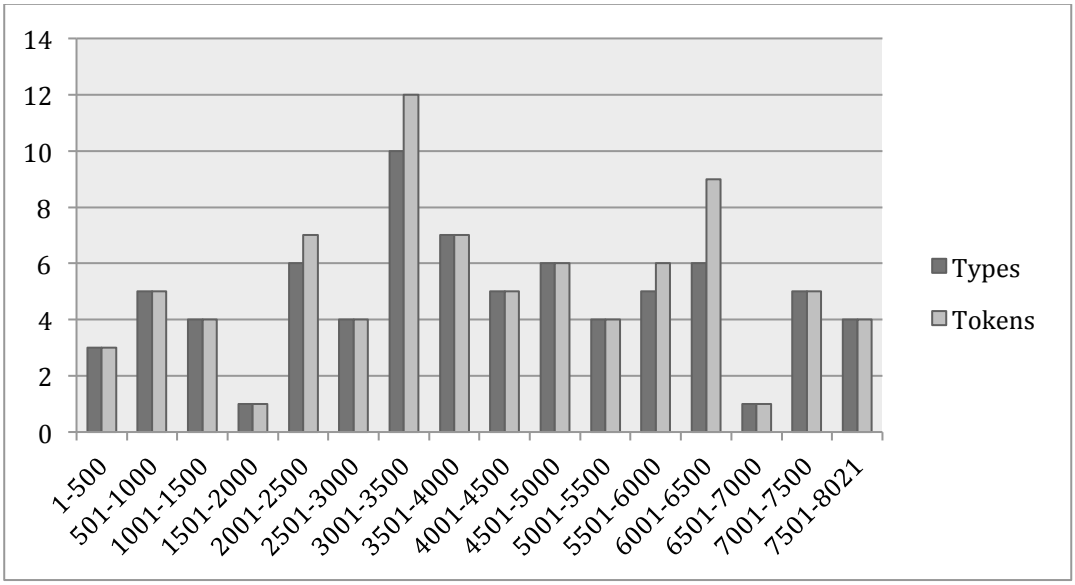

Figure 4: Frequency of rare French-derived vocabulary per 500-line section of *KA* (types and tokens)

This peak is due to three striking passages in the section. The first of these, a rhetorically marked sixteen-line passage, contains **jobet** ‘fool’, **jouaunt** ‘merry person’, and **laroun** ‘thief’. It describes Alisaunder’s twelve-mile host on the way to Macedonia, having just received tribute from Athens:

> Lorde, mychel bost was þare!
> Many jobet and many ware,
> Many turforþ and many jouaunt, [...]
> Many ledron, many foule shrewe (3199–3201, 3206)

In total, the anaphora in *Many* is continued for fourteen lines. Among the persons, animals and items listed, almost half are referred to with a noun or adjective of OE origin, and just over half with one of OF and/or Latin origin. The aim of the passage will have been to emphasise the size, (social) variety and splendour of the army, a context which may have prompted the use of a higher number of French-derived words.

In very similar passages slightly further on, we find the uses of **trappe** ‘covering for a horse’ and **feraunt** ‘iron-grey’. For **trappe**, the passage describes Darius’ army as it is ready to meet Alisaunder again, and this one focuses on arms and trappings in a five-line anaphora again starting in *Many* (3414–18). The passage containing **feraunt** describes Alisaunder’s army as it seeks out Darius: ‘Wiþ hym com many fair stede feraunt, | And many fair destrer curraunt,’ continuing for four lines in the same rhyme, all beginning in (*And*) *many* (3455–60). Many of these, like *destrer curraunt*, would have been highly recognisable from OF epic literature, which circulated widely in England at the time. Their co-occurrence here may create a specific style (see 5.4.4).

Each of these passages may well contain an unusually high number of French-derived words (that remained rare within ME) to convey the impression, as it is put a few lines later, that ‘Ne seiȝ man neuere in none contree | Non so noble assemblee’ (3467–68). However, with the succession of armies and military encounters of great nobility that are still to come in the narrative, for which claims of unparalleled greatness and splendour are often made, this does not explain this cluster to full satisfaction. Stylistically, the section is also marked. Anaphora is used in the text with some regularity, but these particular examples are juxtaposed through their similarity, setting up the two armies of Alisaunder and his greatest rival. In earlier interactions with Darius, mainly through his messengers and barons (from about line 1500) but also in the great fight that has Darius flee, leaving his family behind, there are regularly small stylistic flourishes, but not quite like this.

A similar difficulty is encountered when we attempt to explain *fedde* 'outlawed' (3060), **alan** 'impetuousness' (3191), and **hountage** 'disgrace'.[11] All three appear in direct speech, like several French rhyme tags discussed in 3.2. Could this aspect of their context have prompted the use of these rare terms? Dalmadas, one of Darius' lords, holds a speech to convince Darius to fight Alisaunder once more. Alisaunder sends a letter to the Athenians accepting their offer. Darius addresses his knights asking for counsel concerning how he may overcome Alisaunder. For each of these aristocratic characters, a style of speech reminiscent of French can be seen as fitting, particularly in light of the international status of French at the time. Nevertheless, the explanatory power of this idea is limited, as for the examples of anaphora discussed above, by the fact that such speeches occur much more often, and do not always contain many or rare French-derived words (see further 5.4). The only comment on this section that remains to be made is that just one rare French-derived word in this section is not found in one of the anaphora or in direct speech: **duree** 'endurance' (3528).

Compared to the distribution of French-derived vocabulary in *LB*, the results in this section show a more notable clustering that can be linked to contexts such as aristocratic speeches and chivalric pursuits as well as battle. However, as was found for *LB*, the explanatory power of such a link to the content of passages is limited, because other such passages in the texts do not contain as much (rare) French-derived vocabulary. For *KA*, this may be due to the fact that this analysis has considered only rare vocabulary, in contrast to the analysis of *LB*.

5.2.3 Distribution of French-Derived Vocabulary in 'Handlyng Synne'

This section considers the distribution of the French-derived vocabulary in *HS* in two ways. Although a full analysis using Gburek's concordance would be possible, that is beyond the scope of this study. Instead, I examine both the rarest and the most commonly used French-derived vocabulary. This is preferred over a manageable sample from the data set, e.g. words starting with F, of which it would not be clear whether the sample is reliable. Focusing on the most common and rare elements ensures both types are represented. Firstly, in parallel with my approach for *KA*, I studied the rarer French-

[11] On the highly unusual forms *fedde* and **alan**, see 3.4 and Appendix 5. Both will have been challenging for those in the audience not intimately familiar with French. **Hountage**, common in medieval French, is rather different.

derived vocabulary as it emerged from my analysis, terms rarely or never used in ME outside of Mannyng's work. As concluded in 4.6, some of them can be excluded from further consideration here because they turned out not to constitute rare elements. We are left with only these (in order of appearance): **de** (82), *veyes moy sy* (2938), **esquaimous** (7250); **borgh-gage** (9583 cf. 9589), **com-mare** (9873), *bele amye* (10621) and *countre-paye* (12163). With several hundred lines in between each of these, it may be concluded that there is no clustering of the rare items in *HS*.

Second, I took the five most frequently used French-derived words in the text (numbers derived from Gburek's concordance, as recorded in Appendix 6; see 4.2): **grace**, **merci**, **povre**, **folie**, and **preien**.[12] I used the searchable digital version of Furnivall's edition in the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* (*CMEPV*) to study their distribution. These are all common in ME more generally and were well integrated in ME by 1300. They are each used between 101 and 76 times, according to Gburek, with an average of 85. The actual number of uses in Figure 7, based on the *CMEPV*, differs only slightly. The average for these five terms ranges from 3 to 15 tokens per 1000 lines. This selection of data consists of only a small number of types (which were therefore not considered separately), but has the advantage of containing a large number of tokens, given that it concerns the words of highest frequency use in *HS*.

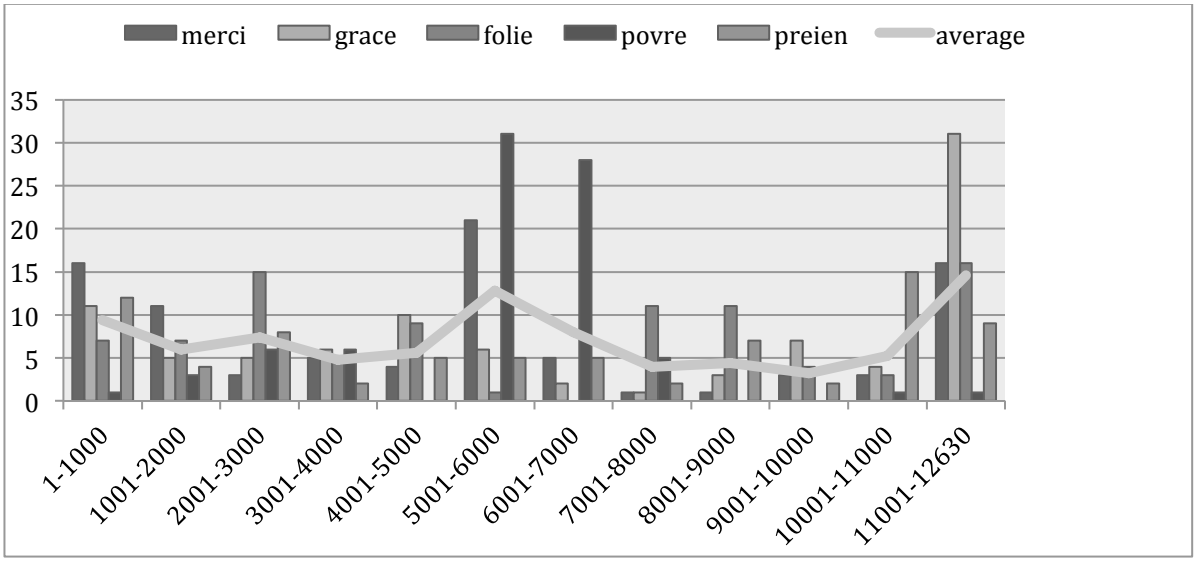

Figure 5: Distribution of the five most common French-derived words per 1000 lines of *HS* (tokens)

[12] Of these, **merci**, **preien** and **povre** occur in the part of the data set that was not analysed in chapter 4. They may be found in Appendix 9 instead.

We should expect some clustering to occur, since content words are never evenly distributed in a text.[13] In addition, the terms selected are likely to be found in similar contexts. This limits the conclusions we may draw from this analysis. The use of some of these words will be more determined by the topic of a section of the text than others. For example, **merci** (n 1) 'mercy' is used 84 times according to Gburek, but 53 of the uses in the *CMEPV* occur in the opening and closing sections and those on Sloth and Covetousness, visible in the peak for lines 5001–6000. This is determined by the content of those passages and says little about the overall distribution of French-derived vocabulary of the text. The concept is central to *HS*, though, occurring in each section at least once, with an average of seven tokens per section. Similarly, more than thirty of the 101 uses of **grace** occur in the section on the eight graces of shrift (the peak for lines 11001–12630), but it is found in each section. **Povre** has peaks for lines 5001–7000 and is the only term not found in three sections. **Preien** is distributed more evenly, ranging only between two and fifteen tokens per section.

Taking the tokens of all five words together, it is possible to see whether any sections appear to contain more or less French-derived vocabulary, judging from this small sample. The average for all five words in all sections is seven tokens, based on values ranging from four to fifteen. Four of the twelve sections contain only four or five tokens, which is only just under the average. Three sections have more than nine tokens. The slight peak for lines 5001–6000 is caused by the very large number of tokens for **povre** in that section, while the peak for the final section is explained by the very large number of tokens for **grace**.[14] Assuming that this sample of most common terms is representative of the French-derived vocabulary in general, an assumption to be tested in a fuller study, we may conclude that the average distribution is quite even, though for individual words it is less stable.

[13] Skaffari, 'Lexical influence,' p. 95.

[14] This section is also larger than the others, covering lines 11001–12630. The alternative would be to add a thirteenth section of just 630 lines. Considering that the average number of tokens for the compounded section of 1630 lines is 15, the equivalent average number of tokens for 1000 lines would be 9, only just above the average.

5.2.3.1 Clusters of Core Vocabulary of French Origin in 'Handlyng Synne'

Some passages stood out for containing several uses of a word in a small number of lines. It is worth considering one here, as I did for *LB* and *KA*, to find out whether these clusters of tokens of one word occur in passages containing a high number of French-derived words. This passage is part of the exposition on covetousness and is much elaborated in *HS* compared to the eight lines in the *Manuel*:

> Among hem stywardes mowe be tolde
> Þat lordynges courtes holde
> For nyrhonde eury a styward,
> Þe dome þat þey ȝeue ys ȝeue ouer hard.
> And namly to þe pore man:
> Þey greue hym al þat þey kan.
> Who soeure to mercy wyle hym drawe,
> He seyþ he shal do hym but lawe.
> But who so shal þe lawe al do
> And no mercy do þar to?
> He may neure for mercy craue
> To god whan he wlde mercy haue,
> For ȝyf god shal deme wiþ lawe ryght,
> Shal no man come to heuene lyght.
> But þurgh grace and hys mercy
> Þan are we saued certeynly.
> Þarfore ȝe stywardes on benche,
> Þer on shulde ȝe alle þenche.
> Ȝyf þou of þe pore haue pyte,
> Þan wyle god haue mercy on þe.
> For hard dome and coueytyse,
> Y shal ȝow telle of swych a iustyse. (5423–44)

The concentration of uses of **merci** stands out, all the more notable because the corresponding lines in Mannyng's source, the *Manuel*, do not contain the French equivalent at all (4711–18). In expanding the explanation, Mannyng has chosen to emphasise God's mercy, in a fitting contrast with the lack of mercy shown by the *stywardes* he complains of. This added contrast explains the six uses of **merci**.

But we also encounter several of the other most common words in *HS*: **povre** (twice), **grace**, and **saven**. The remaining French-derived words in the passage are also used several times in the text, like the thirteen tokens of **greven**, and/or are part of word families that are very frequent. For example, though **coveitise** occurs just three times, the adjective and verb are found a total of sixteen times, while eleven tokens of

certainli stand next to forty-three uses of related forms.[15] Each of these words was well attested in ME by 1300. Neither the number of French-derived words in the passage, nor their character, is at all different from the common terms like **merci**.

Looking at the distribution of the French-derived vocabulary in *HS*, the general conclusion, based on the limited analysis given here, must be that there is no indication of a pattern. It is used throughout the text and does not seem to be restricted to a particular context. For *LB* and *KA* the general conclusion was similar, but in those texts indications, at least, were found of the use of French-derived vocabulary to appeal to a specific register. Further study of register may be revealing for *HS*, too (see 5.4). The passage from *HS* studied here already suggests that, like in *KA*, striking use of French elements is introduced independently of the source. The following section takes up the role of the source texts of *LB*, *KA* and *HS* in detail.

As a final note to this section, it may be good to realise that the attempt to explain the appearance of clusters, or a lack of them, rests on the assumption that these words were in some way distinct to the authors from the rest of their vocabulary. This assumption is probably faulty, given what we know of the multilingual context in which these authors worked. Indeed the degree of integration found for most of the French-derived vocabulary would lead us to expect it could be used without constituting marked forms.

5.3 Relation to Source Texts

As discussed in 1.3, the idea that much of French lexical influence on ME took place through the act of literary translation has in large part been discredited, replaced by a view that emphasises the influence of diverse multilingual individuals. Similarly, chapters 2 to 4 demonstrated that much of the French-derived vocabulary in *LB*, *KA* and *HS* was also used in other texts first and only some of the rare French-derived forms were also found in the source texts. Some French-derived words were introduced in these texts and may have been prompted by their source, but subsequently remained rare.

Therefore, comparison with the vocabulary of source texts in this section is not aimed at recovering the path by which they were adopted, but at better understanding the choices faced and made by the translator as literary creator, operating in a literary

[15] As in the passage quoted in this section, some uses of **certainli** are in rhyming position, which may have prompted their use.

culture that embraced French, English and Latin languages, texts and traditions. This detailed comparison of source and translation in selected passages supplements the general analysis in chapters 2–4. Each of the texts in my study at some points takes considerable liberties with its source text, adding or condensing, but equally each has sections that remain close to the source. My analysis of these retains a focus on lexical choices and refrains from exploring the many interesting ways in which the meaning of passages has been reworked, which would be beyond the purpose of my study.

Although I refer to translators, I do not mean to exclude the copyists and adaptors who handled medieval texts after their initial composition. They participated in the same shared literary culture. Many may also have known the source text(s) or added material from related texts, just as many translators (like Laȝamon and Mannyng) did not depend only on the source before their eyes but worked from a variety of texts. In the end, the texts we have access to are creations which cannot be ascribed to a single individual (see 1.3).

5.3.1 Comparison of 'Handlyng Synne' and the 'Manuel de Péchés'

The first exemplum in *HS* is a good example of the pattern found in earlier studies, described in 1.3.[16] Illustrating the first commandment as well as God's mercy, this 'Tale of the Tempted Monk' (Furnivall's title) tells of a monk who renounces his religion to be allowed to marry a pagan woman. Her father (a pagan priest) is advised by his deity that he should still not give his daughter in marriage, since the Christian God will receive the monk again if he repents. Hearing this, the monk indeed laments his choice and finds a hermit who helps him do penance, until the monk observes a dove representing the Holy Ghost returning to him. The version in the *Manuel* runs to 141 lines (939–1080). Mannyng's version is slightly longer, at 165 lines (171–336). The difference is mainly due to brief explanations of points left implicit in the *Manuel*.

About ninety tokens (uses of words) of possible French origin are found in the passage, of which just 30% correspond to tokens of the same word family in the *Manuel*. For example, where the *Manuel* reads that the monk 'De sa char fu molt tempté' (941), the line in *HS* uses the related noun ('Hadde gret temptacyun,' 174),

[16] Merete Smith, 'Literary Loanwords from Old French in *The Romaunt of the Rose*: A Note,' *The Chaucer Review* 17 (1982), 89–93; Christopher Cannon, *The Making of Chaucer's English: A Study of Words* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998).

while the subsequent line also includes the verb ('He was so temptyd wyþ lecherye,' 175). Giving exact figures is problematic given the difficulty, for many French-derived words, of determining whether Latin played a role in the adoption of the ME word (see 1.5.2.1). Here, I have included words of possible mixed French and Latin origin if they were present in the source text, because they are relevant to evaluating the translator's choices.

Almost all of the words with corresponding related forms in the *Manuel* are attested in other ME texts before 1300. Two are found in other texts from around the same period as *HS* (*cunnaunt, outrage*), and one (*bapteme*) in several texts dated to between 1300 and 1350 surviving only in later manuscripts. If we trust that *bapteme* in those texts goes back to the earliest versions, there are no words in this passage that are first used in ME in *HS*. This corresponds to the overall findings of both Smith and Cannon, with the exception that their studies revealed some cases where the word was taken from the source and first used in surviving written ME in the translation.

The second main finding, implied by this first one, is that the remaining 70% of the words of possible French origin in the passage are additions not found in the immediate context in the source, though they may well be found elsewhere in the *Manuel*. These represent thirty different lexical items (types).[17] For the most part, these are due to the additional lines and convey information not present in the *Manuel*. In the example quoted above, two lines in the ME version cover one in the French. They move from a general and accessible statement ('Hadde gret temptacyun') to the more precise and technical explanation ('He was so temptyd wyþ lecherye'). The *Manuel* does not have this increasing complexity and does not at this point in the text introduce the term **lecherie**, instead using the synonymous theological sense of **char** (*AND* sense 2). Is Mannyng's early use of the term *lecherye* (the sin is not discussed properly until the section starting at line 7339) the result of a didactic choice, preparing the reader for what is to come without requiring him to look up the cross-reference himself? If so, it is achieved neatly, through a very minor addition.

Another possible explanation for the appearance of *temptacyoun* rather than just the verb is found when we consider it alongside the preceding lines:

[17] These are, in the form found in *HS*: *acorde*, *afflycyouns*, *certeyn*, *commaundement*, *cuntre*, *dampnacyun*, *delayde*, *enchesoun*, *ensample*, *ermyte*, *face*, *fyrmament*, *grace*, *kas*, *lecherye*, *manere*, *maumet*, *omage*, *orysouns*, *pas*, *penaunce*, *quyte*, *receyue*, *relygyoun*, *rependyd*, *sarysyne*, *specyaly*, *termagaunt*, *trespas*, *weyue*.

Hyt was onys a munke & had a celle
Yn a wyldyrnesse for to dwelle;
Þys munk of relygyun
Hadde gret temptacyun:
He was so temptyd wyþ lecherye;
He ȝede fro hys celle to seke folye. (171–76)

Whereas in the *Manuel* the subject of these lines is not repeated ('vn moygne iadis esteit [...] Qe en vne wastine maneit; | De sa char fu molt tempté'), Mannyng repeats *munke* in the third line and adds 'of relygyoun'. Is this again to offer explanation to the reader, or to emphasise the monk's clerical status? Elsewhere in the exemplum Mannyng consistently translates the *Manuel*'s *moygnage* 'monkhood' with 'state of relygyun', so this third line could be seen as introducing that term. Having used *relygyun*, the noun *temptacyun* becomes a useful rhyme.

Other consistent substitutions in the passage include *deable* and *deu*, used for the pagan deity in the *Manuel* and rendered by *teruagaunt* or *maumet(te)* in this exemplum in *HS*. This removes possible confusion, especially for *deu*, and emphasises the pagan context as distinct from Christianity, just as Mannyng refers to the father as *sarysyne* 'Saracen', while the *Manuel* more generally uses *prestre* 'priest'.[18] Common in OF epics, Mannyng's choice of these epithets may also have been influenced by his familiarity with such texts or ME Charlemagne romances.[19]

A similar process to the one above seems to have taken place further on, as the monk renounces his faith. Again, *moygnage* is omitted and replaced by (*state of*) *relygyun*, which occasions the introduction of an extra line with a noun in <-*un*>, in this case *Dampnacyun*:

[...] allas, deu ad reneié
E sun baptesme refusé,
E purpos de moygnage;
Certes il fist trop grant outrage. (973–76)

Alas! Ihc he forsoke
And þe crystyndom þat he toke,
And þe state of relygyun,
And chese hys damnacyun.
Certys, he dede grete outrage

[18] For other parts of *HS*, Anne Scott has pointed out that Mannyng takes care to correct popular error; that may have played a role in these lexical changes, too ('"For lewed men y vndyr toke on englyssh tonge to make this boke": *Handlyng Synne* and English Didactic Writing for the Laity,' in *What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods*, ed. by Juanita Feros Ruys, Disputatio 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 377–400 (pp. 392–94)).
[19] Cf. the suggested influence of romance on his later *Story of England* (see 4.1.4).

To make þe deuyl so moche omage. (211–16)

But rhyme is not the only factor. The additional line also again provides explicit comment on what is happening, that the consequence of the monk's renunciation of faith is his damnation. Whether the need for a rhyme led to the explanation or the desire for explanation led to the search for a suitable rhyme cannot be known. The point emerges, rather, that Mannyng skilfully handles the task he seems to have set himself, of elucidating this work for an unlearned audience while turning the French verse into English elegantly and without turning far from the source. The change to *relygyun* also left the following line in the *Manuel* without a suitable rhyme in the translation, which may have occasioned the addition of the final line quoted here and the use of another French-derived word not in the source (*omage*). More importantly, the allusion to paying homage to the devil might bring to the reader's mind similar stories among the miracles of the Virgin. The addition again clarifies the relation between the various aspects of the situation, specifying the cause for the *outrage*. In the *Manuel*, it is assumed the reader will be able to connect this line to the actions described in the immediately preceding lines. Indeed the lines are hardly obscure. Mannyng's additions produce some repetition, but this has a didactic function.[20]

Other French-derived words are introduced by Mannyng as preferred translation for certain French words in the *Manuel*, either because the *Manuel*'s term was not considered suitable or simply a matter of versification. For example, *ermyte* consistently appears in *HS* for *seint home* in the *Manuel*. In an interesting example, the *Manuel*'s two uses of *ciel* 'sky' are translated with *fyrmament* rather than a native equivalent, both times rhyming with *went*. The lines preceding the first instance (217–18) rhyme *folye* and *flye*; a rhyme with **skie** (n) 'sky' would thus also have been possible (if possibly problematic for rhythm or syllable count).[21] The effect of the choice of *fyrmament* (attested in several other texts of varying genre shortly after 1300) may be to give these key moments additional weight, emphasising the importance of this vision of the Holy Ghost by the choice of a form that, even if already integrated, was surely still a more technical and less homely term. Where **skie** appears in *HS*, it also translates *ciel* (e.g. 5284, 5477), so the preference for *fyrmament* here was prompted by the context of this exemplum and, presumably, its religious connotations as a Latinate, high-style term.

[20] Cf. Scott, p. 392.
[21] Note that **skie** is of ON origin, and compare **skeu** (n).

A different perspective on the way in which *HS* deals with the source text entails considering which words in the source text it could have used, given their attestations in ME around 1300, but did not. If other texts document the currency of the term, then why does *HS* not use it? For some words not taken over from the *Manuel*, a ready explanation is at hand: the content of the lines has been altered in *HS* and no equivalent term is used. This explains the absence of **commencen** and **comforten** (lines 273, 307).

Where the *Manuel* uses *refusé* (e.g. line 989) or *reneié* (e.g. line 990) to describe the monk's renunciation of Christianity, in *HS* we find forms of **forsaken** (v) (e.g. at line 230). The *MED* shows that **reneien** (v 1) 'renege' is attested shortly after 1300 in four different texts. These range from a work of religious instruction like the *Ayenbite of Inwit* to collections of narrative material like the *South English Legendary* and the romance *Otuel*, with its narrative of conversion and Christian/Saracen contact. These contexts are similar to *HS* and the word would not be out of place there. However, **forsaken** was the more established term, with more attestations in this period, also in the texts that use **reneien**. Given the choice between these verbs, **forsaken** would have been more accessible.[22]

In a similar way, we can explain the absence of forms of **respounden** (v) to render **respundre**[1] (v) (e.g. line 987), despite several attestations in the period 1300–1350, again including Mannyng's *Story of England*. Not only was there a ready alternative in **answeren** (v), but the early uses of **respounden** also seem limited in sense or context. Two of them involve Jesus, one a group of *maistres* asked to interpret a dream, and Mannyng's own use involves the context of formal written correspondence. All are in formal contexts, which the interactions between the hermit and monk do not seem to match. Moreover, despite this group of early uses, there is only one later ME attestation of the verb, *c.* 1390, and the *OED3* in fact distinguishes between two verbs, ME **respound** (v), and early modern **respond** (v), with the latter attested from 1538. We may consider it probable that Mannyng was capable of using the verb in his earlier text as well as the *Story of England*, but can conclude that the verb was rejected in favour of **answeren** because of limited integration and an association with formal contexts.

Yet no such explanation is to be found for the preference of *wyldyrnesse* over **wastene** in the opening lines of the exemplum, particularly since we find **wastene**

[22] Cf. **refusen** (v), similarly limited in use. A similar word history supports the choice for **quiten** (v) 'to quit' to translate *reniast* in line 199.

elsewhere in *HS* and it is attested from 1200, though not in every fifty-year period. The words both contain assonance with *dwelle* later in the line. Here we may simply be dealing with a preference; certainly the translator's independence of his source is emphasised once more. Even when a word is well integrated and part of a translator's active vocabulary, the presence in the source need not lead to its use at that point in the translation.

As noted, the restraints of verse form are also a factor in the translator's decision-making process. *HS* is in a metrical form relatively close to that of its source; both have rhyming couplets and lines of usually about eight syllables. This may have aided translation, and certainly facilitates the comparison. The following sections look at texts with greater difference between source and translation in this respect. It is already evident that considering only what vocabulary is taken from the source and to what extent that is attested before the translation covers just the smaller proportion of the French-derived vocabulary. The larger part is introduced independently of the source text, emphasising the limited direct role played by literary translation in the adoption of this vocabulary.

5.3.2 Comparison of 'Kyng Alisaunder' and the 'Roman de Toute Chevalerie'

Any comparison with the *RTC* runs immediately into its complex textual tradition.[23] We cannot know which, if any, of the surviving versions of the *RTC* was used by the *KA* poet, and which of the variant passages may have been present in his exemplar. In addition, Smithers argues that the *KA* author knew other texts of the Alexander tradition. Judgements as to what passages were added or omitted are thus hard to make. Within passages, lexical choices may be checked against the variants listed in Foster's edition, but claims that a certain term was not present in the sources and introduced in *KA* must remain tentative. Smithers nevertheless concludes that the *KA* author's handling of the source 'is in general highly independent', although some passages follow the original closely. [24] Neither the Alexander tradition nor the relatively free mode of translation allows for the kind of detailed correspondence analysed for *HS*.

[23] Foster, II, pp. 3–23.
[24] II, pp. 28–40 (p. 15). Smithers was unable to draw on Foster's edition, published much later.

Consequently it is not surprising to find the French-derived lexis in *KA* used with little prompting from the source, even more so than in *HS*.

The independence with which the *KA* author acted is well illustrated by a passage that is still relatively close to the *RTC* (*KA* 5457–539; *RTC* 5237–310). Having heard that Porus, king of India, seeks news about him, Alisaunder dons a disguise and seeks him out, describing himself to Porus as a weak old man. The scene runs to eighty-two lines in *KA*, slightly more than the seventy-three of the *RTC*, but the lines in *KA* are shorter (see 3.1). The similar length is achieved by omitting details (although others are added) and condensing instances of direct speech into reported speech.[25] Twelve different words (types) are shared between the passage in the two texts, used fifteen times in total (tokens).[26] Alisaunder finds Porus in consultation with his barons (*conseil ad demandé*, *conseilynde*), he rides a mule (*mule/mulet*, *mule*), calls himself Alisaunder's *chamberlein/chaumberlayn*, states that Alisaunder wears *mantels* against the cold (two in *KA*, three in *RTC*), and receives a gold *marc/mark* to deliver a letter to Alisaunder, which upon leaving the city he gives to the *porter*. Most of these are attested in ME before or around 1300, and many will have been well integrated, like **armen** (v), **cite**, **hardi** and **bataille** (n). **Scarsete** (n) may not be attested until after 1350, but is not a problematic form given the earlier currency of **scarse** (adj), just as *baundoun* is a rare form with related earlier forms like **abandoun** (adv) 'at will'. Since *KA* is known for its unusual French-derived vocabulary, what is notable about these correspondences is their rather basic character.

These twelve terms, the vocabulary shared with the source passage, is only the smaller part (again around 30%) of the French-derived vocabulary in the passage (forty types in all). The remaining twenty-eight types are introduced by the *KA* author and include some of those French-derived words that had become central to their respective word fields and part of the bread and butter of writing ME, like **folie** (n) and **graunten**. Several are also added in the description of Alisaunder's disguise. Where the *Roman* states only that he 'Guerpy ses reaux draps e vesti les pire | K'em nel puisse conustre ne pur roy eslire' (5243–44), *KA* gives more detail:

> Þe kyng dude of his robe furred wiþ meneuere,
> And dooþ on a borel of a squyer

[25] An example of an omitted detail is Alisaunder's mention, in the *RTC*, that he is in a hurry and needs to get supplies for his birthday feast (5265–66).

[26] As explained in 5.3.1, this count includes words of possible mixed French and Latin origin if found in the passage in *RTC*, like **mule** (n 1).

And a liȝth tabard, als J fynde,
And trusseþ a male hym bihynde. (5465–68)

The phrase *als J fynde* provides a good example of the vacuous use of such a tag, since this detail was nowhere to be found in his source, unless another Alexander text provides this information. Each of the French-derived terms added in the passage is attested from at least 1300 in several texts. But there are also some rare elements in the passage, each introduced in *KA*, in the form of French phrases (*par force* and *jeo crey ceo ben*; see 5.5). Finally, the several French rhyme tags are each introduced without model in the source text, which uses other phrases to mark the change in speaker (compare e.g. *Par foy*, line 5269; *Certes*, line 5493). The *KA* author's skilful and independent handling of these tags is evident, for example from the narrator's *verrayment* 'truly' preceding Alisaunder's evidently untruthful description of himself.

Lastly, we again see in this passage that many terms could have been taken over from the source text, given their use in other ME texts in the early fourteenth century, but were not, proving in a different way the lexical independence of the *KA* author. This concerns about thirty words, though for most of these the altered content in *KA* explains their absence. However, *palefroy* is notably rendered by *stede* and *destrer* and Alisaunder's age is discussed in *KA*, too, yet without use of *age*. Both rare and common French elements are used independently by the author, more than twice as often as words are adopted from the source text. All those present in both texts are common already or had related common forms. Above all, there is no evidence that any French-derived words found their way into ME through this translation. The few items among the rare vocabulary discussed in chapter 3 that derive from the source stand out exactly because they were not adopted in other ME texts.

5.3.3 Comparison of Laȝamon's 'Brut' and Wace's 'Roman de Brut'

Although there are fewer French elements in *LB* than in *KA* and *HS*, the same general points apply concerning the treatment of the text. The analysis, in 5.2.1, of a passage in both versions of *LB* in which **sire** and **dubben** co-occur already compared it to the source text (22485–513 in Madden, 11220–33 in Brook and Leslie). Very few words corresponded between source and translation, even those found elsewhere in *LB*. Since it only contained a few French-derived words, however, a more relevant scene to

compare is that with the most French-derived vocabulary, as found in 5.2.1, which details Brutus' journey from Diana's island to Spain (1272-353 in Madden, 638–76 in Brook and Leslie). The passages are similar in length and close in content, though *LB* shifts attention from description of the mermaids Brutus' men encounter to his actions to escape them.[27] As in the rest of 5.3, for this comparison I have used a broader definition of French-derived vocabulary.

Three words occur in both Wace and Caligula: *lac*, *montaine/montaines*, and (interestingly) *udlage/vtlawen*. Otho has *contre* rather than *montaines*, but includes the other two. **Lake** (n 1) was borrowed from Latin in OE, and is attested early in ME (also in compound personal names with native elements). The presence in the source passage may suggest a role for French in explaining this ME use, but Caligula's general reluctance in using French-derived words, even well-attested ones present in the source, warns us to be cautious in this reading. Perhaps the most relevant explanation is that it forms a specific geographical reference, the *lac of Siluius* (642).[28] **Mountaine** (n) too is only used here in Caligula and a similar explanation seems in place (643). Both words were acceptable enough, occurring in other early ME texts, but judging from his usage Laȝamon was not comfortable to have the word in his regular descriptive vocabulary, making an exception for description of an exotic location. Otho instead uses *contre*, which is harder to explain; it too is found only here and may have been prompted by the need to describe a distant location. In contrast to **mountaine** it also offers a line-internal rhyme (*contre of Assare*). Lastly, the extent to which we can see AF *udlage* as a prompt for *vtlawen* (644) is limited, for this word is not uncommon in *LB*, but its appearance in Wace reminds us that lexical influence went both ways between these languages.[29]

More interesting than these few actual correspondences are a number of terms that are similar but not identical. These may be mere coincidences, or the result of broader reading in Latin, or show a deliberate choice for a different, more acceptable term, or where that choice was not made consciously a subtler and broader influence of source text on translation. Distinguishing between these is beyond the data available, but these examples are tantalising in the possibilities they suggest. Wace's *fluvie* becomes **flum** in

[27] Wace, lines 703–72.
[28] The following line in both versions of the *Brut* also applies the word, this time to translate Wace's *les alteus as Philistins*; see the discussion in Blenner-Hassett, p. 53.
[29] Cf. David Trotter's discussion of ME loanwords in the *AND*: 'Intra-textual Multilingualism and Social/Sociolinguistic Variation in Anglo-Norman,' in *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in England, c. 800 – 1250*, ed. by E.M. Tyler (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 357–68.

both Caligula and Otho (652); with no equivalent to *fluvie* established in ME, this was a logical alternative that occurs at the same point in the narrative (cf. Appendix 5). Similarly, the *bornes* of Hercules become *bunnen* in Caligula (658). More tentatively, Otho's single use of **passen** (v) (672) may have been stimulated by Wace's *trespasserent*; different words, meanings, and point in the narrative, but still close enough and related enough that it might have occasioned the use.

In a strict definition of French-derived vocabulary, the only term introduced in both versions of *LB* compared to the source is **ginne**. It appears twice, both times rhyming with *mereminne*, which may explain its use. In both Caligula and Otho it is also used at other points (see Appendix 1). The combination of being added independently of the source and occurring at various points clearly suggests it was part of the active and unmarked vocabulary of the author. In addition, Otho adds **contree**, as noted above, and **beste** where Wace has *monstres* and Caligula *deor* (663). The appearance of *marbre stones* (660) introduces the French form *marbre*, clearly distinct from the OE form found in Caligula, *marmon stan*; this could easily have been a later scribal change, but need not be so. Wace gives no detail on the material of the pillars. In a broader definition that includes words partially borrowed from Latin, we also find the following terms introduced, compared to the source: *pal* 'fine cloth, cloak, covering' (650, to describe the wealth acquired en route), *postes* (660, for the Pillars of Hercules) and *cables/kablen* (671, which were used to escape the mermaids).

In all, then, even the relatively low number of French elements in these passages of *LB*, in both its versions, reveals an independence from the source. A few terms are taken over, probably because they refer to specific geographical locations (**lake**, **mountaine**); others are translated by a similar word with mixed origins (**flum**, **passen**); and several common French-derived words are added (**ginne**, **contree**, **beste**, **marbre**), as are a few of mixed origins (*pal*, *postes*, *cables*). Laȝamon's lexical choices in this passage show a preference for words of mixed origins and/or a longer history in English over words of definite French origin. The larger number of French-derived words in Otho is also introduced independently of the source text.

Whether or not a ME translation from French includes a large number of French-derived words, its handling of these terms is dependent to only a very small extent on the source text. These translations may have contributed to the spread of certain French-derived words, but did not through the act of translation introduce or establish them in

English. Interestingly, however free this handling of French elements already appears to be, some of the most notable uses of French elements in these texts are found in passages added to or elaborated in *LB*, *KA* and *HS*. These are discussed in the following sections.

5.4 Register and Style

Chapters 2–4 analysed the integration of French-derived vocabulary in *LB*, *KA* and *HS*, noting when an individual word was used in specific contexts only. In 5.2, I broadened my analysis by checking whether French-derived vocabulary is spread evenly across the texts. While it proved possible to link some clusters to the contents of those passages, this left unexplained why other passages with similar content did not also feature more French-derived vocabulary. This opened up the question of the extent to which the situational context influences the use of French vocabulary and requires consideration of register and style. In 5.3, comparison with the source texts ruled out dependence on the source as explanation, since all three texts were seen to handle French-derived vocabulary with limited influence from the texts they translate.

In the multilingual context of medieval Britain, the potential exploitation of different language varieties by authors also applied to different forms of ME. This rich web of linguistic variety from which authors could choose meant, Tim Machan has argued, that rhetorical play was not just possible but something an audience would expect.[30] Studies of ME authors' use of different varieties of ME have traced such literary effects, notably in the works of Chaucer and the Gawain poet. The use of French-derived vocabulary is associated with 'novelty or cultural prestige' and is included to create what, in the fifteenth century, would be called aureate diction. Similarly, I have mentioned Christopher Baswell's argument that French speech in *KA* serves to identify the aristocratic status of the speaker (see 3.1). As David Burnley notes, however, French-derived words can only be used for such effect if they were still recognisably distinct for a group of speakers.[31] Only rarer French-derived words in my texts may have been used

[30] 'Robert Henryson and the Matter of Multilingualism,' *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 109:1 (Jan 2010), 52–70. Cf. the point that choice of language in a multilingual society is never neutral, in M. C. Davidson, 'Code-switching and Authority in Late Medieval England,' *Neophilologus* 87 (2003), 473–86.

[31] David Burnley, *A Guide to Chaucer's Language* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983), pp. 134–36, 156–76.

for differences in register. Where often the determination of rare words is rather impressionistic, I draw on my analysis in chapters 2–4.

Before defining the concepts of register and style, let me note that in medieval texts they are often hard to gauge. ME authors, and probably their audiences, were attentive to the connotations of different language varieties. We know this from those instances we are told so by the author (cf. 5.4.2). Sometimes we can identify clear effects, as when Chaucer juxtaposes courtly terms with a banal context in his fabliaux, but in many cases the tone is harder to recognise and requires recovering the connotations of the words as well as their synonyms that the author did not use.[32] More systematic work is needed before the register of a passage or text can be determined with more confidence (excepting the explicit cases already mentioned). My analysis in this section can offer only a preliminary entry into the field, in order to demonstrate the usefulness of such study. The following subsection traces approaches to register and style in linguistics and medieval studies and indicates the aspects applied in my analysis.

5.4.1 Definitions of Register and Style

The *Dictionary of Stylistics* defines register as 'a variety of language defined according to the situation (rather than the user, as with dialect)'.[33] Early sociolinguists formulated it as a simple cline from natural and informal to highly formal, while sociolinguistics in general tends to define it by field or occupation. Among systemic linguists, in turn, three situational features determine register choices: field (subject matter), tenor (the relationship between the participants) and mode (medium of transmission).[34] In a key

[32] On this difficulty in relation to medieval British texts, see Trotter, 'Intra-textual Multilingualism,' pp. 357–58 and 361–62. Cf. his fuller exploration (for a different context) in 'Diastratische und Diaphasische Variation: Normierungstendenz und Unabhängigkeit in lothringischen Dokumenten des Mittelalters', in *Überlieferungs- und Aneignungsprozesse im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert auf dem Gebiet der westmitteldeutschen und ostfranzösischen Urkunden- und Literatursprachen. Beiträge zum Dritten internationalen Urkunden-sprachen-Kolloquium vom 20.–22 Juni 2001 in Trier*, ed. by Kurt Gärtner and Günter Holtus (Trier: Kliomedia, 2005), pp. 1–78.

[33] Katie Wales, *A Dictionary of Stylistics*, 3rd edn (Harlow: Longman, 2011), pp. 361–63 (p. 361). Wales notes that other terms used for register are diatype, sublanguage, discourse genre or text type. Cf. the overview in Christoph Schubert, 'Introduction: Current trends in register research,' in *Variational Text Linguistics: Revisiting Register in English*, ed. by Christoph Schubert and Christina Sanchez-Stockhammer (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), pp. 1–15 (pp. 2–5).

[34] Schubert, pp. 4–5. This approach comes close to pragmatics.

work, Douglas Biber and Susan Conrad argue instead that what identifies a register are pervasive linguistic features and their relative distribution compared to other registers.[35]

Register, style and genre represent different approaches to linguistic variation between texts.[36] For example, a genre analysis has to consider full texts and looks at their typical structure as well, while a register analysis can be based on text samples, but both also consider typical linguistic features. Where genres may be seen as text types, registers and styles are rather 'inventories of linguistic devices'.[37] They concern the use of marked forms in context. In medieval studies, it has proved difficult to map modern concepts and classifications of genre onto actual medieval writing practice (see 6.5). Modern work on style, meanwhile, needs to be adapted for medieval verse texts, which by nature contain marked language and display some degree of extension of the norm. In modern work, style concerns the choices of the language user and perceptions of appropriateness, but goes beyond register conventions and may include aesthetic considerations. A vaguer term than register, it can 'go with an individual, a group of people, or a time period', whereas register concerns styles that are conventionalised and recognisably linked to certain situations by many in a language community.[38] In recovering broadly recognised effects of language choices by ME authors, the term register thus better covers the linguistic pattern concerned. I may use the term style to refer to the authors' individual styles, if there is no evidence for the broader currency of their linguistic choices. This is done with an awareness of medieval textual culture, in which texts involve the work of an unknowable number of individuals (see 1.3).

In sociolinguistics, lastly, style is a variable in the analysis of variation with each choice 'socially marked or unmarked in any given social situation', with speakers accommodating their style 'depending on the relative status of their addressees'.[39] This perspective allows a poet's marked choices to be analysed for their social effect. With regard to this, it is important to consider more aspects than just formality as tied to etymology. Otherwise, my endeavour would be reduced to the circular finding that

---

[35] Douglas Biber and Susan Conrad, *Register, Genre, and Style*, Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), p. 6.
[36] Biber and Conrad, pp. 15–23.
[37] Claudia Claridge, 'Linguistic levels: Styles, registers, genres, text types,' in *English Historical Linguistics: An International Handbook*, ed. by Alexander Bergs and Laurel J. Brinton (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), I, pp. 237–53 (p. 238).
[38] Claridge, p. 239. Both Wales (pp. 397–99) and Schubert discuss the development of these terms across disciplines; cf. Christopher Cannon, 'Chaucer's Style', in *The Cambridge Companion to Chaucer*, ed. by Piero Boitano and Jill Mann, 2nd edn (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), pp. 233–50.
[39] Wales, p. 362.

since the words are French in origin they must connote a high register. Instead, to determine the register of a ME word, one would have to find the synonyms available at the time, study the contexts in which each is used, and analyse whether there are differences in usage that suggest they belonged to different registers.[40]

Turning to the medieval perspective, the closest equivalent to modern notions of register and style must be seen in the discipline of rhetoric. Central to medieval education, going back to classical times, it had developed into a complex, sophisticated system.[41] Based on Chaucer's comments on this, David Burnley shows how the concept of *termes* ('terms') stood for the language variety proper to disciplines like astrology and philosophy, though Chaucer also writes about the 'termes of love'. These *termes* were connected to the concept of *proprietas*, a function of words denoting the extent to which they fit in with the *propria* of that which is described, i.e. the things peculiar to it as a species. Describing a particular social class, for example, 'would demand care in the selection of language forms proper to that class', and any topic, person or style that had linguistic peculiarities could be represented with *proprietas*.[42] Admittedly, this again involves circularity, as we determine the class from the language and the language from the class. Medieval authors were also quite capable of distinguishing between real usage and accepted rhetorical representations of class. Burnley's examples mainly cover juxtapositions for parodic effect, when *termes* are used in a setting where they clearly do not meet *proprietas*. This was Chaucer's specialty and will be found much less if at all in other ME texts.

It is clear that register analysis is an entire field of study, with only few advances for medieval texts.[43] The attempt to retain a sense of the connotations held by ME words involves seeing ME not as monolithic or divided into 'two or three etymologically-differentiated blocs' but as a 'texture' that is 'wrought by the social values its users [...] perceived in it, and by their recognition of proprieties to verbal contexts, technical

[40] Cf. the models in Geoffrey Hughes, *Words in Time: A Social History of the English Vocabulary* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), pp. 17–19 and Cannon, *Making of Chaucer's English*, p. 41 and discussion in Trotter, 'Intra-textual Multilingualism,' p. 362, and 'Diastratische und Diaphasische Variation'.
[41] Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991).
[42] Burnley, *Guide*, pp. 156–76 (p. 168). A fuller version of his analysis is given in his article '"Chaucer's Termes",' *Yearbook of English Studies* 7 (1977), 53–67. On the concept of style, see Burnley, *Guide*, pp. 177–200 (p. 200); Cannon, 'Chaucer's Style', pp. 233–250 and *Making of Chaucer's English*, pp. 21–37.
[43] See *Medical and scientific writing in late Medieval English*, ed. by Irma Taavitsainen and Päivi Pahta (Cambridge: CUP, 2004) and Francisco Alonso-Almeida, 'The Middle English Medical Charm: Register, Genre and Text Type Variables,' *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 109.1 (2008), 9–38.

discourse, literary genres, or familiar situations'.[44] While we can never fully recover these, the procedures sketched above form a beginning, applied in the remainder of this section to selected passages from *HS* and *KA*.

5.4.2 French Elements and Elevated Speech

The most common association of French elements in ME is with a high style, especially in the speech of noble characters, what Thea Summerfield has called the 'French flavour' of a passage. Tim Machan has commented that it is unusual for ME writers to differentiate their characters in direct speech, even if exploitation of sociocultural connotations was common. In *KA* and *HS*, a preliminary analysis suggests there is little consistent use of French-derived lexis to mark the speech of noble characters, but French phrases are on multiple occasions used to signal status. These do not so much constitute a register of ME as invoking the idea of French through limited linguistic means.[45]

In *HS*, there is an interesting test case in an exemplum where a knight pretending to be of lowly status is recognised by his speech habits. We are provided with multiple instances of direct speech, only one of which reveals his status. It is found in the discussion of the sacraments, a section with three exempla featuring French-derived phrases in direct speech. These are rarely found in Mannyng's text, and occur only here or in direct addresses to the reader. Does the character's speech reflect the linguistic usage of a knight, and in what ways? This analysis considers the interactions of speech as medium, the social relations between the characters (tenor) and the *proprietas* of the character's speech to his social status. Two questions lie behind this. Was the actual speech of nobles distinct in its use of French elements, and if so do texts represent their speech realistically by including French elements?[46]

---

[44] Burnley, *Guide*, pp. 154–55.

[45] For examples from *KA*, see 5.4.3. Cf. Thea Summerfield, '"And She Answered in Hir Language": Aspects of Multilingualism in the Auchinleck Manuscript,' in *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain c. 1066–1520*, ed. by Ad Putter and Judith A. Jefferson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 241–58 and Timothy William Machan, *English in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: OUP, 2003), pp. 112–13. *King Richard* is said to form an exception. In Summerfield's examples most of the differentiation is achieved through French phrases more than lexis, what she terms 'semi-French'. It certainly concerns those snippets of French that would have been accessible to a broad audience.

[46] Cf. the discussion in Summerfield, '"And She Answered",' and Tim William Machan, 'Language and Society in Twelfth-Century England', in *Placing Middle English in Context*, ed. by Irma Taavitsainen and others (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000), pp. 43–65.

The exemplum from *HS* is Bede's tale 'of Jumna and Tumna; or, how an abbot's mass-singing made the fetters fall off a knight in prison' (Furnivall's title). A much expanded version of that in the *Manuel*, it covers 209 lines (10523–732) versus 27 (7585–7612). Jumna is imprisoned by an earl, having been captured after a battle, and claims he is a simple 'husband of þe cuntre' (10562). His brother Tumna, finding a corpse similar to him, believes him dead and sings masses for him every night, which causes Jumna's bonds to be undone. When this is brought to the earl's attention, he has Jumna brought to him and addresses him with 'Sey me now, [...] bele amye', asking for an explanation (10621).[47] Jumna has guessed rightly at the cause of the repeated miracle and tells of his brother, the priest, commenting that 'no þyng haþ powere | Aȝens þe sacrement of þe autere' (10639–40). As he speaks,

> Al þe meyne þan & þe Erle
> Supposede weyl he was no cherle,
> As he to hem byfore had seyde
> Whan þey on hym fyrst handes leyde;
> By hys semblant and feyre beryng,
> Hym semed weyl to be a lordyng.
> By hys speche þey vndyrstode
> Þat he was man of gentyl blode. (10637–44)

Mannyng explicitly tells us that Jumna's speech was revealing of his social status. It would make sense to suppose that the earl's speech was similarly recognisable. The story takes place in Anglo-Saxon times; historically both characters would have spoken a form of OE. No attempt is made here to present such a style, which would have been highly unusual. But do these speech acts reflect noble or aristocratic speech habits of Mannyng's own day? Some ME texts employ code-switches to French, the language of one of *gentyl blode* in Mannyng's own day, to signal a noble character's status, as studied by Summerfield. Mannyng might have intended *hys speche* to function in a similar fashion. What is of interest is whether that ME is characterised by French elements.

In this passage, the earl's use of *bele amye* may have been intended to mark his social status. In *KA*, for example, Alisaunder uses this phrase in his deathbed speech when addressing Mark of Rome to bequeath him part of his empire (7930). Here in *HS*, the earl is not addressing an actual friend and ally but a supposed churl and possible sorcerer. Does the phrase slip in as the normal way of addressing someone, for the earl,

[47] The feminine form is only apparent in later AF, whereas the continental form would be *bel amy*.

or is he adopting a strategy of politeness to avoid affronting one with magical powers?[48] The passage above also used a number of French-derived words (*meyne*, *semblant*, *feyre*, *gentyl*). The semantic field of describing the manner of a knight is here associated with the French language, as is that social class. Admittedly, this reading rests on the assumption that these words were still noticeably of French origin; since all are attested in other ME texts before 1300 that claim is uncertain. Nevertheless, it is striking that all words describing his manner and status are of French origin, except for *lordyng* and *blode*. The first of these was in common use in ME, clearly linked to the new nobility without etymological association, and may have been preferred over possible alternatives to rhyme with *beryng*. As to the second, no French-derived form was available: all French-derived synonyms for **blood** (n) are late in use and rare, restricted to specialist uses (e.g. **saunc sarasin**; **san-dragoun**).

The key question remains the difference, if any, between Jumna's two speeches. In the first situation, the earl asks Jumna to identify himself:

> Þe Erle asked hym what he was,
> And where he had be yn hard kas.
> For drede of deþ he was affryght,
> And durst nat seye he was a knyght.
> He seyde, "syre, ȝyf þy wylle be,
> Y am an husbund of þe cuntre.
> Y was wont to lede vytayle
> To knyghtes þat were yn batayle.
> And now y am a pore man,
> Yn þys maner fro þe bateyle wan,
> And wyl fonde to saue my lyff
> Tyl y may come vnto my wyff." (10557–68)

The earl's one-sentence question, reported in indirect speech, includes *hard kas*, found from 1300, although **cas** 'situation' is attested earlier. All French-derived words in Jumna's first speech are of the most integrated kind, almost all attested throughout the thirteenth century, and used at least twenty times in *HS*. Only *vytayle* 'supplies, rations' is not attested before 1300 and used only at this point in *HS*. As this represents the job

[48] Summerfield suggests this phrase could signal that French was being spoken. In this scene, the question would be why the earl would address someone who might not know French in that language. Unless we suppose either a conventional representation regardless of context (earls speak French) or the presence of an interpreter, not impossible, we need to conclude that this phrase may have had a variety of implications. See her '"Fi a debles," quath the king': language mixing in England's vernacular historical narratives, c.1290–c.1340,' in Wogan-Browne, ed., *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*, pp. 68–80 (p. 73).

he supposedly had in the defeated army, it would not be strange for him as *cherle* to know the term.

In his second speech, a few more French-derived words are found but their density decreases.

> He seyde, "on wycchecraft beleue y noght,
> Ne for me shal noun be wroght,
> Ne wyl nat be þurgh fendes craft
> Vnbounde ne wyþ no wycchecraft.
> Syre Erle," he seyde, "hyt ys a noþer;
> Yn my cuntre y haue a broþer
> Þat supposeþ weyl þat y be slayn,
> For y com nat home agayn;
> For me he syngeþ eury day a messe.
> Prest and abbot for soþe he ys.
> Y wote weyl, þat ys þe enchesoun
> Þat my bondes are so vndoun.
> For no þyng haþ powere
> Aȝens þe sacrament of þe autere,
> And ȝyf y were ded yn ouþer werlde,
> Hys preyer shulde for me be herd
> To brynge me of pyne & wo
> And afterward to blys go." (10627–44)

Where the earl asked 'bele amye, | Kanst þou weyl on sorcerye?' (10621–22), Jumna speaks only of *wycchecrafte*, not using the term of French and Latin origin. Several of the French-derived words he uses are again well attested in the thirteenth century, but now there are a few terms not found before 1300: **pouere** 'power', **preiere** 'prayer' and **supposen** (only from c1350). Within *HS*, they are still relatively common, the first two used more than twenty times and **supposen** five times. They may represent a slightly more novel aspect of ME vocabulary, which around 1300 may still have been marked, especially for **supposen**. More striking is 'sacrement of þe autere', for though both words are found before 1300, the phrase is not. It also reveals a certain degree of liturgical knowledge which one would sooner expect from a knight than a *cherle*. Given the small difference in lexis, it may have been this display of knowledge along with Jumna's bearing and confidence that gave him away more than word choice. In his last speech act, in which he reveals his identity, five French-derived words are found in just four lines, of which two are only attested from 1300. This is fitting since he deals with the topic of the battle and his knightly identity:

> "Syn ȝe byhete ȝour pes & gryth,
> Y am þe kynges man, Edfryth.

Armes y bare yn þe batayle,
Wyþ al my powere hym to auayle." (10657–60)

By contrast, the earl's response, in which he remains true to his word not to harm Jumna for revealing himself, does not contain a single French-derived word:

"So me þoghte," seyde þe Erle,
"Þe semed nat to be a cherle.
But for þat y here þe seye,
Þou were wrþy for to deye,
For þou hylpe þer to slo
Þat al my kyn ys ded me fro.
But langer þat y sykerd þe,
Shalt þou haue no skaþe for me." (10661–68)

Clearly then the use of words of recognisable French origin does not constitute a necessary part of Mannyng's characterisation of their speech. Mannyng is perhaps not attempting to accurately represent that register (as Machan suggested), or no strong association between French-derived words and noble interactions existed. Since Jumna could pass as a *cherle*, either there is no immediately marked register to his sociolect, or he was capable of imitating a lower status sociolect. Having to defend himself in a formal setting, he was later able (unlike one of lower social background) to speak more formally. In a society where the situations one encountered differed so much between social groups, can the distinction between sociolect and register be maintained?[49]

On one occasion in *HS*, a full French phrase is given that evokes the social connotations of that language in more complex ways. Having introduced the tenth commandment, Mannyng laments the fact that almost everywhere gentlemen have both wife and *hore*, and wives both husbands and *ludby* (**lote-bi** n 'lover, paramour'), and presents a possible cause that leads men to covet another man's wife.[50] When women rule their husbands, other men will covet her and strive for her favours, no longer deterred by him:

In eury place now mowe men se
Þe wyff wyle gladly þe mayster be, [...]
And begynneþ to be a shrewe.
And whan she haþ wune þe maystry
Oure syre ys noght, but veyes moy sy.
Þan wyle folys fonde and fare

[49] Trotter points out that 'these two forms of variation can easily coincide and may indeed be fairly hard to distinguish' ('Intra-textual Multilingualism,' p. 358).
[50] This might expand on a comment in the *Manuel* that 'Troué auu*m* asseȝ, & seu, | Qe mal en est auenu' (3125–26), but that more probably simply serves to indicate that bad things come of breaking this commandment.

To chepe þe wyuys chaffare.[51]
And ȝyf þe wyff lestene here lore,
Here wrschepe ys lost for euermore.
Þus wyll begynne wykked lyff
To coueyte a nouþer mannys wyff. (2931–44)

In an intriguing line that offers little help to the reader cut off from its original connotations, the situation when the wife has 'wune þe maystry' is described as 'Oure syre ys noght, but veyes moy sy' (Godefroy **vei/vez me ci**, 'littéralement voyez-moi ici [...], c'est-à-dire me voici', i.e. something like 'here I am').[52] What exactly this was intended to mean is unclear. It is not unambiguously presented as direct speech, but may have been uttered by either the husband or wife. In case of the former, the husband appears to be characterised as always running to her bidding, reduced to a phrase announcing his arrival. In case of the latter, it could show the wife drawing attention to herself.[53] In any case, the briefly sketched scene reads like the set-up for a fabliau, suggesting the shocking reversal may have caused a laugh.[54]

With a few early appearances surviving in written older French, we can imagine that in spoken discourse the phrase may have been common, easily recognised by an audience with little knowledge of French. It is also easy to imagine that others lower down the social ladder might have imitated such a phrase, perhaps at times mockingly. If a code-switch to French generally serves to indicate social status, then this instance is highly intriguing, especially if it is the husband who has lost his usual status who utters this phrase. Perhaps it was the contrast between high-status language and reversal of dominance that was intended to be effective. The phrase in itself, whether understood for its components or known as phrase with opaque constituents, does not indicate the

[51] Cf. *MED* **chaffare** (n) sense 4a, 'Anything valuable or desirable', with some quotations implying a sexual connotation.
[52] The written form is of the polite plural imperative, though the metre suggests a monosyllabic pronunciation.
[53] The *AND* records a similar use in the AF *Romance of Horn* (c. 1170) (**veer**[1] v 'to see'). Godefroy records several uses of this type under **vez** (adv) 'voici'. Furnivall notes a similar phrase. The passage is mentioned in E.J. Arnould, *Le Manuel des Péchés. Étude de Littérature religieuse anglo-normande (XIII*[me] *siècle)* (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1940), pp. 308–09; *The Story of England by Robert Manning of Brunne, A.D. 1338*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall (London: Longman & Co., 1887), p. xv; and Piero Boitani, *English Medieval Narrative in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, trans. Joan Krakover Hall (Cambridge: CUP, 1982), p. 25. Arnould and Furnivall's comments assign the phrase to the husband, while Boitani appears to read it as representing the wife's flirting, revealing 'feminine coquetry'.
[54] Intersections between fabliaux and moral stories including exempla are mentioned in John Hines, *The Fabliau in English* (London: Longman, 1993), pp. 213–16.

speaker's relationship to the addressee. It is not the expression as such which functions to mark dominance, but the use of a high-status language that may have been effective.

So far I have looked at spoken language and the extent to which French elements are used to mark the social status of a character or addressee. The results have been sparse for Mannyng, while Laȝamon does not use the French elements in the *Brut* for that purpose either, with the exception of a single speech featuring two French-derived words, as a king addresses Arthur (22485–97; see 5.2.1). On a few occasions in *HS*, a French element is used to mark a character's speech (10621; 2938; and 5611, on which see 6.4). This strategy is found more frequently in *KA*, and the next section turns to examples from that text. Meanwhile, the question remains to what extent we should expect the oral language of the socially well off, or those multilingual professionals, to have been filled with French-derived words. This will have varied between contexts.

5.4.3 French in Speech of More Questionable Elevation

The previous section considered the use of French to mark socially elevated speech. For *KA*, similarly, a number of striking French phrases have been read as presenting 'the recognizably authentic voice of the antique aristocrat'.[55] Beyond simple calls to battle by Alisaunder and his rivals ('Ore tost, a ly, a ly!' (3815); 'A ly, a ly!' (4362); 'As armes, as armes' (4299)), there is a particularly interesting moment of speech by Alisaunder that also problematizes a simple reading of French as marking social status. Like other French phrases in *KA*, it has no parallel in the *RTC*; it is the translator's choice, not his deficiency, that has produced it. One of Darius' knights, promised great reward if he kills Alisaunder, disguises himself as a Greek knight to gain proximity to the conqueror, and succeeds in throwing a spear at his back. Alisaunder, saved only by his excellent armour, 'was sumdel agast' (3909). Turning round and seeing one who looks like his own men, "'Fitz a puteyne!' he seide, 'Lecchoure! | Þou shalt sterue so a tretoure!'" (3912–13). The *RTC* is rather less vulgar, though equally resounding: 'Dampdieu te gravent' (3167).

In French at least, **fiz a putain** has always been utterly vulgar. In OF epic, such discourse is regular as part of the motif 'abuse of the enemy'. What do we make of the

[55] Baswell, 'Multilingualism,' p. 43. The phrases would be likely to signal the recognisable voice of the OF epic hero, perhaps the main model available for imagining an antique aristocrat.

use of French elements for profanities? We retain the same medium and tenor from the examples in the previous section (interactions between a lord and a knight), but instead of a limited attempt at representing speech with *proprietas* find a juxtaposition of characters of social standing and vulgar language. The effect of such juxtaposition is hard to trace. In order to serve as 'authentic voice of the aristocrat', the phrase would have to be recognisable as French. Although each of its elements is recorded in the *MED*, the contexts in which they appear remain limited. As a phrase, it is syntactically distinctive and could not easily pass as English unless lexicalised as a phrase with opaque constituents. There is no evidence for such assimilation from later uses.[56]

Searches of the *MED* and *CMEPV* reveal a handful of uses of **fiz a putain** in ME texts. These suggest that it was gravely insulting in ME, as in French. A clear example of this may be found in the Auchinleck stanzaic *Guy of Warwick*. Two royal sons sit playing chess, until one loses his temper and *missayd* ('insulted, slandered') the other by calling him *fiz a putayn*, which the other considers *gret deshonour* and a threat ('þou me manace'). The situation quickly escalates:

> ¶ Wiþ a roke he brac his heued þan
> Þat þe blod biforn out span
> In þat ich place. [...]
> & cleped him anon 'vile traitour!'
> & smot him in the face.[57]

Similarly, in the *Laud Troy Book*, Hector is confronted on the field with insults by King Episcropus, who is said to speak *wordes foule* by calling him thus. Before defeating him, Hector makes his own insults, beginning with 'fals ataynted traytour' and then comparing lineages. In the *Prose Merlin*, those at the receiving end of the phrase are referred to as *harlotis*, and said to have fled rather than supporting their side. A significant error has occasioned the expletive. Verbal insults are evidently not out of place among either aristocrats or heroes in ME verse, and have a long tradition, but the contexts in which *fitz a puteyne* appears in other texts suggest this one has negative associations. For a character we are intended to evaluate positively to use it, there has to

[56] Cf. **fitz** (n), only recorded of patronymics and phrases with French elements, and **putain** (n), with six of 15 attestations collocating with **fitz**.
[57] *Guy of Warwick (stanzas)*, lines 7603–19, in *The Auchinleck Manuscript*, ed. by David Burnley and Alison Wiggins (National Library of Scotland: 5 July 2003), <http://www.nls.uk/auchinleck/>, [accessed 29 May 2017].

be a good occasion.[58] The collocation with other invectives like **lechour** and **traitour**, both present in Alisaunder's response, is also clear from these examples.

Alisaunder has good cause to resort to a lower register, believing as he does that one of his trusted men has turned on him in the midst of battle and having nearly died. As expectations of register are broken, there is a 'linguistic shock' which achieves a literary effect in the audience to match (on a smaller scale) the shock experienced by Alisaunder.[59] For all the criticism that may be found in the text for his pride, he is the hero and the moment is tense. Moreover, given the text's link to epic discourse (see 5.4.4), we may see it as an expression of epic wrath. Alisaunder's response does not suggest unmitigated shock: he is only *sumdel agast*, i.e. somewhat or partially afraid or terrified — or surprised (cf. senses 1, 2 and 3 of **agasten** (v)). Although this may also be an instance of litotes, the following description supports the idea he was not fully shaken. Having been hit, *He sat fast* (3910), for which the *MED* gives two collocations: 'be mounted firmly' (1f), and 'remain steadfast' (11c). Whichever of these two was meant here, it is from a firm position that he looks back to spot his assailer. In exceptional moments, lower-register French-derived speech may be used by aristocratic characters for emphasis.

5.4.4 French in Descriptive Passages

Descriptive passages may also move between different registers and this section returns to the passages in *KA* which, in 5.2, seemed to feature a style reminiscent of OF epic. Do they represent an attempt at rendering that register in ME? Would this have been a novel endeavour, as idiosyncratic as the lexis of *KA* may be said to be, or recognisable from other texts? First, the similarity with OF epic must be probed, while answering these later questions requires a comparison with ME texts that is beyond the limitations of space here. Perhaps it is not the most interesting question, in fact; the point of this style being used by this author is that to a part of its audience it is recognisably evocative of OF epic. As such it forms a register, a variety of language linked to specific situations by the use of particular, pervasive linguistic features, even if within

[58] Elsewhere in *KA*, king Nicholas utters the English equivalent ('Fy, vyle ateynt hores sone' (879)), as does Darius. Nicholas is provoked by Alisaunder, who has sought out Nicholas looking for trouble. In this case *hores sone* is ironic, with Alisaunder's parentage indeed disputed.
[59] Cannon, *Making of Chaucer's English*, pp. 67–69.

ME that register was never established more fully. As Orietta da Rold and Mary Swan suggest, language may not be 'the dominant category criterion for a twelfth-century reader in England'; 'other sorts of categorizations or boundaries, like register and genre, might be more important' (although the application of these terms, as seen above, remains problematic).[60] A passage written in the recognisable style of epic would have rung those bells for the knowledgeable reader more than the particular language it happened to be represented in at that moment.

Smithers discusses how the style of *KA* shows good knowledge of OF epic and its Latin antecedents. His 'main point is that a system of stylistic devices, which came to be applied in highly stereotyped forms and amplified by the authors of OF epics, is reproduced in most essentials in *KA*', while, importantly, that system 'could not have been learnt from *RTC*, for it is there too thinly represented'. Although Smithers mentions 'certain verbal formulae' as one of these devices, he does not discuss those further.[61] In contrast to Smithers' comment on the limited extent to which the stylistic features he focuses on are present in the *RTC*, Brian Foster has remarked of that text that 'the epic flavour of his narrative is very marked'.[62] Foster's focus, like mine, is more on lexis, explaining the difference in evaluation. The language of *KA* is not, it can be mentioned at the outset, fully dependent on OF epic, as may be seen from the senses in which *KA* uses traditional epic terms like **dubben**. In the *RTC*, **adober** is used exclusively in the earlier sense 'to arm', leading Foster to characterise its language as belonging to the twelfth rather than the thirteenth century.[63] In *KA*, by contrast, it is found both in that meaning and in the newer sense of 'to knight'.

My lexical focus here considers signs of a recognisable linguistic repertoire we could call a register. This is most easily established for sets of words occurring together, using a proximity search of the *Anglo-Norman Hub*'s textbase.[64] This includes texts in a range

[60] Orietta Da Rold and Mary Swan, 'Linguistic Contiguities: English Manuscripts 1060–1220,' in *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in England, c. 800 – 1250*, ed. by E.M. Tyler (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 255–70 (p. 265). Compare Jocelyn Wogan-Browne's similar argument in 'What Voice is that Language / What Language is that Voice? Multilingualism and Identity in a Medieval Letter-Treatise,' in *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain (c. 1066–1520): Sources and Analysis*, ed. by Judith A. Jefferson and Ad Putter, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 171–94).
[61] I, pp. 28–40 (p. 31). A fuller discussion is promised in a paper 'to be published elsewhere', which I have been unable to trace.
[62] II, p. 58.
[63] II, p. 57.
[64] The textbase is accessible at <http://www.anglo-norman.net> [accessed June–July 2017]. On its options and limitations, see David Trotter, 'Bytes, Words, Texts: The *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* and its Text-Base,' *Digital Medievalist* 7 (2011).

of genres. While it is easy enough to distinguish practical texts like petitions, the difference between *chansons de geste* and other narrative fiction like romances is harder to isolate, and many overlaps in vocabulary are found. It is recognised that the rigid distinction between these two genres was a modern scholarly creation, with so-called epic and romance shading into one another.[65] Given this, in what follows I have not attempted to differentiate between the two categories. The specific mode of writing that *KA* may be tapping into concerns the style found especially in *chansons de geste* but also in romances.

Between lines 3200–3500 of *KA*, there are three anaphoric passages in close succession, each detailing the splendour of an army. The first contains three words highly rare in French as well as unique in English (**jobet**, **laroun** and **jouaunt**), so while we can establish that the passage was marked as highly French, we cannot determine it to be typical for a style. Most other words in these lines occur on their own, so we cannot consider the familiarity of a collocation. A common phrase like *gentil kniȝth* is no more helpful. Potentially useful is 'destrer in couerture' ('warhorse in protective covering', 3200–13), but this is not found in the *Anglo-Norman Textbase* in that form. The two nouns are used in relation to each other in a will ('Jeo devys [...] les coverturs burnutz de plate qui sount pour mon destrer') and in the *RTC* we find the verb **coverir** alongside **destrer** ('coverir ces destrers', 4034).[66] Since the point of this use of **coverture** is that it covers a horse, it is not too unexpected to find these words together, diminishing the evidence for a phrase recognisable from epic or romance specifically. The second passage faces a similar problem of analysis, with few collocations available for comparison.

The final anaphora is a different matter. Six lines on a single rhyme present several collocations amply attested in the texts contained in the textbase:

> Wiþ hym com many fair stede feraunt,
> And many fair destrer curraunt
> And many fatt palfrey aumblaunt,
> And many armed olyfaunt,
> Many baroun and many sergeaunt,

[65] For discussion and the argument that the two modes coexisted and influenced one another, see Sarah Kay, *The Chansons de Geste in the Age of Romance* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995).
[66] *Testamentate Eboracensia*, ed. by L. Baker and J. Raine (London: Surtees Society, 1836, 1855 & 1864). The technical term in English for **coverture** is **trapper** (n 1), also of French origin. In the fourteenth century, trappers reinforced with plates or made of plate came to be used. *Chansons de geste* with their earlier date would not refer to them. See Claude Blair, *European Armour: circa 1066 to 1700* (London: Batsford, 1958), pp. 184–87.

Many stronge kniȝth and many geaunt. (3455–60)

Destrer curraunt and *palfrey aumblaunt* have multiple direct parallels in surviving AF texts. In Hue de Rotelande's *Protheselaus*, for example, we find both 'Sor palefrez qui amblent tost' and 'E sist sor un destrer curant'. There is even a phrase *cheval ferant*, with *cheval* a suitable equivalent for *stede*, which is of OE origin; the translation is logical since no form of *cheval* was established in ME.[67]

The *Anglo-Norman Text Base* was used because of its accessibility and relevance for the linguistic context in which a ME author worked. However, Smithers suggests a widely read author for *KA*, so that a broader search including continental texts would be preferable. The dictionary entries of continental medieval French for some of these terms already indicate their association with an epic or romance style, confirming the results of my search. For example, Godefroy writes of **ferrant** that 'dans les Chansons de gestes et dans les Romans d'aventures, cet adjectif est très souvent employé comme un sorte de qualificatif général en parlant de chevaux de bataille'. Of the related form **auferant** the *DMF* notes it is found 'À la rime, dans un cliché poétique' (**auferrant** n and adj). Other examples are found under **courant** (adj) and **ambler** (v). Although a selective sample, these quotations from OF texts are suggestive of the broader currency of these phrases.

Perusing such texts also clearly reveals the common use of phrases like *Certes* at the start of speech turns. In the previous two sections of 5.4, the appearance of such phrases was linked to the possible representation of aristocratic speech habits, the French elements functioning to mark the social status of characters. Since we have very limited resources for reconstructing how nobles will have actually spoken, the possibility that the French elements in speeches serve to point to the conventions of OF literature rather than realistic conversation cannot be excluded.

Not only then is there a clear link to a group of other texts (OF *chansons de geste* and romances) in the form of recognisable collocations and repeated lexis, but this crucially involves the use of French-derived vocabulary. The rarity in ME of a term like **amblaunt** (found only in *KA* and once in the *Confessio Amantis*) may be due to a close association with this register, which was not broadly adopted by ME writers. That does not mean that the *KA* poet and Gower were using an obscure term; they were probably

[67] Hue de Rotelande, *Protheselaus*, ed. by A.J. Holden (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1991–1993), lines 9427–28; 9744; 2977.

aware that of a part of their audience, at least, who would recognise it as belonging to the language of OF epic and romance. Alternatively, it may also have been familiar from everyday life.

KA is not consistently filled with this sort of phrase and the three passages noted here stand out, both rhetorically (the anaphora) and through use of this register with an increasing density of features. The fact that the third of the passages contains the largest number of most recognisable, even stereotypical, phrases may be intended to form a crescendo. With one description of a procession after the other within a relatively short portion of the text, the use of a romance or epic register connects these moments to one another but also differentiates them by increasing typicality. Not only is the *KA* author familiar with the style of OF epic and romance, then, he is able to exploit it effectively to structure the text.

5.5 Representations of Multilingualism

A final potential source for hints on the sociocultural implications of French elements concerns the representation of languages and multilingualism: the things texts tell us about how they look at the presence and use of different languages including French and English. This final section of chapter 5 briefly considers that representation in *LB*, *KA* and *HS*. ME literature has a conventional monolingualism in which the use of different languages is silently glossed over. Exceptions to this, moments when other languages are mentioned or allowed into the text, have been shown to follow certain patterns: they occur in the context of social discord or the supernatural, sometimes as part of a textual tradition. An additional pattern for French phrases is their use to mark the speech of a character of some standing, while mention or inclusion of Latin is used to add authority to a text or statement.[68] The representation of multilingualism in *KA* and *HS* matches these patterns well; in *LB*, the presence of Latin is similar, but there is more attention to multilingualism.

The use of French phrases to mark social status was discussed in 5.4. A related function is implied by some of the phrases in *KA*: both Alisaunder's army and that of his enemy Darius cry out *As armes* as they prepare for battle, uniting the two hosts in

[68] Machan, 'Language and Society'; Summerfield, '"Fi a debles"' (on authentic traditions in chronicles) and '"And she answered"' (on French to mark status in romances).

their use of the language of chivalry (3669, 3756).[69] The supernatural context of the mention or inclusion of different languages accounts for most other examples in *KA*. For example, the magical trees that prophesy Alisaunder's death speak Indian and Greek, though they are understood without problem (6846–47; 6890).[70] The single French phrase in *HS* also occurs in a fabliau-like scene, what may be seen as an unnatural or socially discordant situation, namely that of a wife who has gained mastery over her husband (see 5.4.2).

Elsewhere in *HS*, the supernatural context is formed by two miracles for which Mannyng includes a Latin sentence.[71] These also represent a particular tradition, especially for the Colbek dancers, whose song was recorded in Latin in Mannyng's sources.[72] The influence of such a textual tradition also operates in chronicles, where instances such as the Saxons' *Nimeð eoure sexes* at Stonehenge or Ronwenne's *wassail* are given in English in Latin or French texts; in *LB*, they are present in English but no longer stand out (7141, 7610). These instances also fit with Machan's category of social discord, as do most other mentions of languages in *LB* (with the exception of Latin, used to characterise clerics just as in *HS*.)[73] It is the Britons' lack of comprehension of these Saxon phrases that leads to their massacre at Stonehenge and, later, Vortimer's poisoning by Ronwenne.[74]

---

[69] The phrase is common and occurs in the *RTC* at e.g. 5720.

[70] Cf. 1924–27; 4953–60; 6356–62 and *RTC* lines 7178 and C41 (on the trees); 4711; 6739–40.

[71] Because such Latin elements are not explicitly marked as Latin, while two French phrases or words are introduced as such explicitly, Lucy Margaret Allen argues that Mannyng 'devernacularises' French and 'vernacularises' Latin. In her conclusion this suddenly becomes a 'notoriously hostile rhetorical repositioning of the French of England'. The difference between the treatment of Latin and French appears very slight and insufficient cause for this conclusion, in what is otherwise an interesting study of the manuscript context ('Interpreting the Visual Dynamics of Religious Manuscripts in England, 1260–1500' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, 2013), p. 134).

[72] See lines 9051–53 (on the Colbek dancers) and 11121–22 (on the bad bishop). On the Colbek dancers, Gregor Rohmann notes that the unspecified vernacular behind the Latin translation has led to an 'extremely patriotically loaded argument' about 'the German or French origin of the tune' ('The Invention of Dancing Mania,' *The Medieval History Journal* 12.1 (2009), 13–45 (p. 32), notes 100 and 101). Furnivall's note to the lines in his edition of *HS* assumes a Saxon origin. For a detailed study of the exemplum in *HS*, see Mark Miller, 'Displaced Souls, Idle Talk, Spectacular Scenes: *Handlyng Synne* and the Perspective of Agency,' *Speculum* 71 (1996), 606–32.

[73] *HS*, lines 301, 1049 (an addition to the *Manuel*, cf. 1541) and 2181–84 (for the name of a law code); *LB*, lines 6312–14 (cf. Wace 6315–20), 6548, and 7876 (cf. Wace 7445).

[74] *LB*, lines 7431–83. Ronwenne is given greater agency by Laȝamon; the entire scene in which she uses the Saxon custom to distract Vortimer is an addition (cf. Wace 7157–60). See Allen, trans., p. 437; Kelley M. Wickham-Crowley, '"Going native": Anthropological Lawman,' *Arthuriana* 10.2 (Summer 2000), 5–26; Jacqueline M. Burek, '"Ure Bruttisce speche": Language, Culture, and Conquest in Laȝamon's *Brut*,' *Arthuriana* 26.1 (Spring 2016), 108–23; and Hannah McKendrick Bailey, 'Conquest by Word: The Meeting of Languages in Laȝamon's *Brut'*, in Allen and others, eds, *Reading Laȝamon's 'Brut'*, pp. 269–86.

This connects to an interesting implication of Laȝamon's treatment of languages. On the one hand, Laȝamon presents language as a powerful political and cultural tool that can be employed strategically. The Saxons use their language to the disadvantage of the Britons on multiple occasions, notably in the examples of the Stonehenge massacre and Vortimer's poisoning, in which Laȝamon gives more attention to the role of language than Wace. Most of the time the early Saxons in *LB* are implicitly able to communicate in a language the Britons know, suggesting a willingness to adopt local custom just as they convert to Christianity when convenient. The Britons, by contrast, are culturally inflexible, refusing either to learn languages or use what multilingual skills they have. In Wace, when Vortigern has been explained the meaning and ritual of *Wesheil*, he responds as instructed with *Drincheheil* (6952–72); in *LB*, by contrast, Vortigern replies *an Bruttisc* because he knows no English, despite having been told the English response (7145–64). In a more disconcerting example, Wawain, sent as envoy to Rome because he spoke the language (13099), insists on British superiority, kills the emperor's nephew and is pursued by Romans. One of them, Marcel, taunts them for fleeing, and Walwain turns back and decapitates him. In a rhetorically marked passage with frequent rhyme, he addresses the dead Roman boasting that 'þus we eou scullen techen ure Bruttisce speche' (13248). Later, Arthur himself expresses almost the exact sentiment (13393). By insisting on using their own language only, these Britons force their cultural identity on others, without room for mediation.[75]

On the other hand, the passages on changing place-names that Laȝamon inherits from Geoffrey and Wace suggest a sense of loss as names have become altered by the succession of ruling peoples, preserved with effort in this history (though to a lesser extent than in Wace).[76] Where Wace tends to focus on the linguistic process with technical details, Laȝamon appears more interested in linking linguistic change to changing domination of the Isles. In the most famous of these comments, the Saxons are

[75] See Burek, Bailey and Wickham-Crowley for detailed argumentation. Other interesting studies on these passages include Summerfield, '"Fi a debles"; Kenneth J. Tiller, 'The Truth "Bi Arðure Þan Kinge": Arthur's Role in Shaping Lawman's Vision of History,' *Arthuriana* 10.2 (2000), 27–49; Rosamund Allen, '"Marcel far to helle; & tel heom þer spelles" (*Brut*, line 13245): 'Off' Jokes and Crude Behaviour in Lawman's *Brut*,' in *Behaving like Fools: Voice, Gesture, and Laughter in Texts, Manuscripts, and Early Books*, ed. by Lucy Perry and Alexander Schwarz, International Medieval Research 17 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 171–92; Margaret Lamont, 'Becoming English: Ronwenne's Wassail, Language, and National Identity in the Middle English Prose *Brut*,' *Studies in Philology* 107.3 (Summer 2010), 283–309.
[76] As Le Saux notes (*The Poem and Its Sources*, p. 37), Laȝamon reduces or omits several etymologies; cf. *LB* lines 14810–15 and Wace 13799–803; *LB* 3540–55 and Wace 3762–84; *LB* 8732 and Wace 8175–78.

followed by the 'Normans; | mid heore nið-craften'.[77] Although in isolation this would suggest a strongly negative view of the French, and it has often been taken as such, this does not hold. As Le Saux notes,

> Whether this animosity against an oppressing political authority is a valid argument in favour of a wholesale rejection of French culture is a different matter. [...] both of the passages just quoted stress the transitoriness of political supremacy, and Laȝamon was certainly well aware that what the Normans did to the English was no different from what the Saxons had done to the Britons; it is significant that the expression 'ufele craften' reappears in the *Brut* to describe the Saxon ways [...].[78]

Given the traumatic nature of the Norman Conquest, Laȝamon could 'hardly have referred to it otherwise' than with criticism, as indeed we find in some pro-Norman treatments of the event like William of Malmesbury.[79] The broader treatment of France and the French in *LB* also does not suggest a particularly negative view, for like in Wace France is mainly a place to pass through on the way to Rome, barely existing in its own right. Laȝamon's treatment is even subtly more sympathetic.[80]

The presence of multiple languages in society is implicitly presented as a risk in both *LB* and *KA*, an implication supported by the supposed origin of multilingualism in Babel, a punishment for man's pride.[81] Latin and French, however, with their well-established presence in medieval England, are also used to appeal to the social status carried by these languages. Here the implication seems rather to be related to the possibilities offered by multilingual proficiency. *LB*, *KA* and *HS* provide little evidence for a negative valuation of French by writers of ME. The choice to translate to English

---

[77] *LB*, lines 3547; translated by Allen as 'with their nasty malice' (p. 92).

[78] *The Poem and Its Sources*, p. 82. Some have explained the application of such terms to the Saxons by positing a distinction between the treacherous, heathen Saxons and the later, Christianised, Angles who rightfully inherit the country. Suggested by Ian Kirby, then criticised by Neil Wright and James Noble, the distinction was taken up again in several articles in *Reading Laȝamon's 'Brut'*. See Ian Kirby, 'Angles and Saxons in Laȝamon's *Brut*,' *Studia Neophilologica* 36.1 (January 1964), 51–62; Neil Wright, 'Angles and Saxons in Laȝamon's *Brut*: A Reassessment,' in Le Saux, ed., *The Text and Tradition of Layamon's 'Brut'*, pp. 161–70; James Noble, 'Laȝamon's Ambivalence Reconsidered,' in Le Saux, ed., *The Text and Tradition of Layamon's 'Brut'*, pp. 171–82; Ian Kirby, 'A Tale of Two Cities: London and Winchester in Laȝamon's *Brut*,' in Allen and others, eds, *Reading Laȝamon's 'Brut'*, pp. 287–94.

[79] *The Poem and Its Sources*, p. 83. Compare the similar conclusion in Hugh M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity 1066–c.1220* (Oxford: OUP, 2003), p. 389 and the critical evaluation in Elaine M. Treharne, 'Categorization, Periodization: The Silence of (the) English in the Twelfth Century,' *New Medieval Literatures 8*, ed. by Rita Copeland and others (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 247–73 (p. 257).

[80] *The Poem and Its Sources*, p. 80. Note that this excludes Brittany, which functions as a distinct region connected closely to Britain.

[81] Babel is mentioned in *KA*, lines 5954–55; through a common conflation of Babel and Babylon, this town features prominently in the narrative, also as prophesied site of Alisaunder's premature death, in some traditions seen as punishment for his pride.

and make a work accessible to the *lewed* need not, then, imply a rejection of the source text, its language, or culture.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the context of the French-derived vocabulary in *LB*, *KA* and *HS* in terms of its place in the text, register, relation to source and the representation of French and multilingualism. As to place in the text, it is hard to compare the results for the three texts, since the type of data was different for each; nevertheless, for each text the analysis revealed an even spread of French elements. Only a few notable clusters were found. These suggested a noticeable literary effect, which I tried to explain by considering the contents of the passage, register and style. These explanations, although plausible, are limited by the occurrence of similar passages without equivalent clusters of French elements. More work on register especially is needed to understand the appearance of differing proportions of French elements in ME texts. My analysis so far suggests two conclusions. On the one hand, the speech of characters of some social standing may be marked as such by the use of a limited number of French elements, rather than containing large numbers of French elements. This leaves us with fascinating questions about the relation between the actual speech habits of medieval English nobility, gentry and merchants and their language as represented in ME writing. Even in *LB* there may be a single instance of this, at the pinnacle of Arthur's reign. Some other contexts occasion the use of larger numbers or less common French-derived vocabulary, such as epic passages in *KA*. On the other hand, however, the majority of the French elements in these texts is used in a way that does not suggest it was marked in any way, occurring throughout the texts and with no indications of being restricted to a single register.

This second point returns us to the sociolinguistic situation described in 1.2. Key in current understandings of that situation is the multilingual competence of both the socially advanced and a broad range of professionals as central to French influence on ME. That influence occurred naturally and neutrally as the boundaries between the two languages became blurred. Although this blurring was the case only for these multilingual speakers, their ME then influenced that of the English-speaking majority. The ease and independence with which the authors of each of the texts studied here

make use of French-derived vocabulary suggests that this vocabulary had become accessible to a broad audience, even for *LB* where it is only the number of French elements that is limited. The linguistic and contextual evidence from these texts suggest a generally neutral use of a broad range of French elements.

Such practical acceptance of multilinguality as a norm contrasts with the way in which societal multilingualism is presented in *KA*, where it is associated with the supernatural or with authority. In *LB*, too, multilingual competence has a negative association with treachery, although it is part of a greater and unusual representation of linguistic competence as tool for enlarging political power tied to cultural opportunism. Neither of these representations match the ease with which the authors use French elements, even if in *LB* the number of these elements is limited. The different representation of multilingualism from that of French elements reinforces the image of a perception of French and English as to an extent part of the same system, not subject to the same representation as other, truly foreign languages. Nevertheless, social and political forces undeniably influence language use in a multilingual context.

All this also implies a shared literary culture. An interesting example of this is the closeness of *HS* to its source, with its avowed broad audience (a claim born out by the linguistic demands placed by its vocabulary). But comparison of each of the three texts with their source demonstrated clearly the independence with which the translators operated, both generally and with regard to French elements. Both authors and part of the initial audience must have been party to both languages and literatures, which through them and the closeness of many texts can be said to have constituted a single literary culture (ignoring, for the moment, the important role of Latin). What this means for the identities of authors and readers is considered in chapter 6.

Chapter 6: French Matters — Aspects of Identity and Audience

6.1 Introduction

The preceding chapters have encountered two different and conflicting sets of implications in critical work on medieval multilingualism. On the one hand, switching between French and English was, for a part of the population, a normal everyday practice. On the other hand, the interplay between these languages involved power relations, linked to the creation and propagation of collective identities, which implies a tension in the choice of one language or another (see 1.4). This final chapter turns from the French elements in Laȝamon's *Brut*, *Kyng Alisaunder*, and *Handlyng Synne*, and their immediate textual context, to the broader context of these ME texts, considering them as a whole, their genres, and their audiences. In doing so, it must attempt to resolve the contradicting implications of medieval English multilingualism to find out the ways in which the use of French matters in these ME texts.

As explained in 1.4, the common association of language and identity and the social function of language make identity a useful concept through which to study sociocultural implications of French in ME. Having identified the French elements in *LB*, *KA* and *HS* and analysed their degree of integration in ME, we must address the general question asked in 1.4 to these specific texts: what did it mean for those working on the texts, and their audiences, to use or come across these French elements? In short, with the negotiation of what identities does the use of French elements intersect? This chapter treats, in turn, ethnic/national, religious, social and cultural identities.

In what follows, my discussion remains centred on the implications of the French elements found in chapters 2 to 5, the theoretical perspectives sketched in 1.4 serving more as critical background and an aid for examining different possible meanings than as a primary analytical tool. The findings of chapter 5 provide the starting point. *KA* includes rare elements to create literary effects that would be missed by the monolingual part of the audience, their own language rendered partially foreign; this probably reflects a continuing elitism among its intended audience rather than appropriation. *HS*, by contrast, shows that around the same period the effects of multilingualism had spread so far that a ME text could be accessible even with many French elements included. For *LB*, lastly, it was seen in 5.5 that despite its avoidance of French elements this text is not as negative about French as some have claimed, and the lexical choices must be

ascribed rather to a desire for a consistent style, which then has the effect of recovering or continuing a native voice.

6.2 Collective Identities Relating to Land, People and Politics

The first type of identity to be considered brings before use the issue of the relevance of the use and representation of French for answers to the question of what it meant to be English in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, as introduced in 1.4.2. The examination below begins by reviewing the texts' presentations of the English as collective community, then proceeds with aspects of conquest, alterity and appropriation. It is organised thematically rather than chronologically by text. For each of these themes much of interest is to be said about the texts as a whole; to maintain my focus on the sociocultural implications of French elements, I only briefly touch on aspects that do not relate to these. The examples from the texts given here are for the most part introduced in chapters 2 to 5, to which the reader is referred for fuller discussion.

HS is concerned primarily with religious community. In addition, the exempla it contains have a range of origins and are said to take place in various countries. Nevertheless, Mannyng's inclusion of local detail has long been recognised, mentioning local custom and including several exempla of English origin not found in the *Manuel*. Together with a few comments that present both author and audience as English ('We englys men,' 4165), this suggests an audience perceived as having a collective identity. To what extent this must be seen as ethnic or national remains unclear. Some relation to language is present, as the mention of collectivity quoted above follows a proverb that is 'Seyd on frensh and on englys' (4150) about the relative susceptibility of the French and English to certain sins: 'Þat frenshe men synne yn lecherye, | And englys men yn enuye' (4155–56). Mannyng proceeds to point out that lechery is the lesser sin, for it does not concern the soul, and envy is often denied, with the consequence that it cannot be shriven ('Tell to any þat he haþ enuye, | He seyþ aȝen hyt ys a lye', 4165–66). The English are thus in greater danger than the French and should think carefully about this sin. Intriguingly, this example forms the clearest indication of collective identity in the text but is founded on a negative, and paired to a similar negative of French collective identity. A juxtaposition of English and French ethnic groups is thus present, but not

with the usual relegation of the 'Other' to an inferior position. A general sense of community may be present, but its contours are kept vague, with much of the detail in fact to do with more localised settings. The imagined English community is clearly Christian, plagued perhaps by various superstitions Mannyng is careful to explain and rectify.[1] The many exempla set in foreign locales keep reminding the reader, however, of the broader Christian community to which they also belong.

These intersecting identities merit further study, particularly in relation to the specific historical contexts that may have influenced Mannyng's choices, but do not involve notable French elements.[2] As was concluded in chapters 4 and 5, very few French elements in this text will have stood out, nor do they occur more in particular contexts. Register seems to make the greatest difference in explaining the occurrence of marked forms, but this variation does not relate to Mannyng's local additions, rather marking social difference (to be discussed in 6.4). The French elements in *HS* therefore appear not to have played a part in the expression of a sense of collective English identity. Although there are quite a lot of them, especially given the sizeable French-derived vocabulary, the point seems rather to be a relative integration and hence lack of markedness.

For *LB*, in contrast, it has been the avoidance of French elements that has attracted critical attention (see chapter 2.1–2). Moreover, as a history of Britain, it necessarily participates in the reinterpreting of a turbulent past, for simply narrating the history of these peoples is to present a view of them in relation to each other. Latin and vernacular histories offered diverse perspectives on the Norman Conquest, what came before, and what came after (usually, of course, favourable to the Normans), each creating a new version of history for the newly amalgamated community of the realm. As the Otho version demonstrates, a greater French-derived vocabulary with a longer history in English was available for use, and yet is found only occasionally in Otho and even less frequently in Caligula. Caligula in turn contains some rare forms of possible French origin (just as it has rare ON words not present in Otho).

[1] See Anne M. Scott, '"For lewed men y vyndr toke on englyssh tonge to make this boke": *Handlyng Synne* and English Didactic Writing for the Laity,' in *What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods*, ed. by Juanita Feros Ruys, Disputatio 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 377–400; Graham Platts, 'Robert Mannyng Of Bourne's "Handlyng synne" and South Lincolnshire society,' *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 14 (1979), 23–29.
[2] Platts gives such a contextual reading of *HS*.

This language-internal stylistic choice is potentially more significant for the expression of a collective English identity than the mere choice of vernacular. The contrast with *HS*, aimed at an unlearned audience, is great. In part this will have reflected the difference between ME in the East and South-West Midlands, the latter being more conservative linguistically (see 2.1). However, the acceptance of French-derived vocabulary does not show much variance. More was around even by 1200 than was used in either Caligula or Otho. This suggests that French-derived vocabulary, also when in general use, could by some be distinguished and avoided. In light of this the study of OE manuscripts in Worcester, with which Laȝamon might have had contact, and the region's continuing vernacular tradition may have provided the kind of input that would allow such a distinction to be made, through an awareness of style.[3]

The choice of a variety of ME with relatively few French elements need not have involved a negotiation of collective identity: it could be stylistic, or conventional from the perspective of earlier literature (see 2.1.2). If it expresses collective identity it may be restricted to the region that provided it with a model style or welcoming audience. It is to resolve this point that Laȝamon's few comments on Normans and French are usually brought in. This relies heavily on Laȝamon's mention of 'Normans; mid heore nið-craften' in one of the passages listing the series of conquests the island has faced (3547). With the current state of our knowledge of twelfth-century vernacular culture, it is impossible to decide firmly whether this reveals tension about Anglo-French ethnic relations or was made from a socially safe position, and hence how much weight we should give this brief comment. Laȝamon's general representation of France (see 5.5) is more neutral than that in Wace, who (to complicate things further) was Norman, not French.

It is also interesting in this light to note that the discourse of English servitude observed by Moffat is not found in Laȝamon.[4] Comments on the French and Normans are framed in the larger series of conquests faced by Britain's inhabitants. This highlights the mutability and instability of ethnic dominance and language alike. This aspect of the text, inherited from Wace but expanded, has led to various readings of

[3] Carol Weinberg, ''By a noble church on the bank of the Severn': a Regional View of Laȝamon's *Brut*,' *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 26 (1995), 49–62.
[4] See 1.4.2 and Douglas Moffat, 'Sin, conquest, servitude: English self-image in the chronicles of the early fourteenth century,' in *The Work of Work: Servitude, Slavery, and Labor in Medieval England*, ed. by Allen J. Frantzen and Douglas Moffat (Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 1994), pp. 146–68.

La3amon's vision of history. These propose that La3amon creates an alternate foundation for collectiveness out of the cycle of instability (see 2.1).

La3amon's choice of style may have been firmly grounded in a local vernacular tradition, but this need not entail a rejection of Normans. Despite the national framework of the history its implications may also be regional. It would be interesting to study the integration of Norman families in the South-West Midlands, and examine the extent to which they participated in English vernacular culture. What we know is that La3amon worked at Areley Kings in Worcestershire, that the language of both versions of the *Brut* is South-West Midlands in nature, and that this area saw the creation of a relatively high early ME output, including many texts in trilingual compendia.

Apart from the general reading community suggested by its prologue, not specified as English, *KA* does not present any direct image of collective identity, certainly not linked to French elements. Like *LB*, it shows concern with such politically relevant topics as the law and treachery. As an Alexander story produced around London at a time when monarchs and princes were compared to the conquering hero, its contribution to a nationalist discourse would instead be the provision of a mirror of justified conquest. As such, it could be appropriated to the cause of building what Davies has called the First English Empire.[5] At the same time, the alterity of the pagan oriental setting gains proximity to the reader while remaining exotic. The problem of Alisaunder's pagan status is never quite resolved as we wonder how to evaluate him. He is mostly but not exclusively presented as a virtuous hero one can identify with, bringing the reader closer to the marvels he encounters further east. Like other romances with distant settings, *KA* uses the safety of remoteness to explore moral issues (see 3.1.2). These involve not just the justification of conquest but also its limits and problems, tied to the concern with treachery found throughout the text, as it is in *LB*. Just as Arthur's empire fails upon his death, the result of betrayal, Alisaunder is poisoned and his barons' inability to decide where to bury him prefigures the dissolution that must follow. Both conquests are presented as justified, but neither

[5] R.R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles, 1093–1343* (Oxford: OUP, 2000). Ralph Hanna, *London Literature, 1300–1380* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), pp. 148–212, traces both the Alexander parallel and the interconnections between Court and City in the early to mid-fourteenth century. See 3.1.2 on the medieval Alexander tradition.

achieves a state of integration: animosity remains among some they have conquered and there is a risk of revolt.

As a text concerned with heroism and warfare, the historical memory of an early fourteenth-century audience of *KA* must have included relevant links to the various periods of war and civil unrest that occurred in the twelfth, thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (see 1.1). These included the Crusades, the Barons' Wars (notably due to unrest over secondary French immigration), Scottish Wars of Independence and, of interest for later copies of the text, the beginnings of the Hundred Years' War. To focus for a moment on relations with the French, the combination of the Barons' Wars and the start of the Hundred Years' War makes it unsurprising that scholars looking at the development of English national identity have taken an interest in the representation of AF relations and of the French language (not always distinguishing thoroughly between the French of England and of France).[6]

The various political factions in *KA* are not, however, differentiated by language. Although a few peoples have no language beyond signs or animal noises, all actual speech is not just presented with the conventional monolingualism of medieval romance, but direct speech of the various lords and other characters reveals a similar form of ME. Alisaunder and his enemies share a language, united in a chivalric culture just like the medieval European aristocracy, superseding ethnic and religious difference. The only ones excluded from this culture are truly monstrous, part of the marvels of the East more than of mankind. Several of the rarer French elements in *KA* evoke the language of French epic, again pointing to the unity of the chivalric class.

In *LB*, the giants who initially inhabited Britain are a monstrous Other that is conquered to found the nation, but they are presented as less monstrous than in Laȝamon's sources. Scotland and Wales are places where outlawed lords and their men will take refuge and from which they can emanate to threaten the Britons or Saxons. These characters are vilified and would fit in with the discourse Davies has traced in which English conquest, colonisation and attempted acculturation in the British Isles was justified in rhetoric that described those peoples as savages. But Laȝamon does not use the same discourse of savagery in describing them. When he disapproves of someone it tends to be for moral reasons, not ethnic alterity. And none of this involves

[6] For examples, see Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy — Chaucer, Language and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford: OUP, 2009).

either the appearance or lack of French elements: where *KA* bestows French phrases on all characters endowed with speech, *LB* withholds them from all alike. The single use of **sire** to address Arthur at the height of his power is a telling exception, setting him apart from the *Brut*'s many kings and heroes.

Studies of the Auchinleck manuscript have identified an interest in Englishness based on a range of adaptations in the volume's texts (compared to other surviving versions). *KA* may on the surface provide an authenticating parallel to the stories of English heroes, specifically with the iconic Arthur. The dissolution of Alisaunder's empire upon his death points to the need for a strong ruler, as the poem's final lines employ the metaphor of state as body, requiring a head or all members will fail. But in its worrying over the limits and tenability of empire, it complicates things too.

In addition, and to return to the French elements in the text, the frequent French character of its style and the occasional highly rare French-derived vocabulary raise questions about the kind of Englishness being suggested in Auchinleck. Is their presence an appropriation of the prestige of French culture, polishing the language and making it more fit for literary expression? Given that this style remained limited to the *KA* group, if that was the intention then it was not picked up on more generally, until similar efforts were taken in the later fourteenth century. It may equally well represent a desire to demonstrate belonging to this English group, while holding on to the prestige evident from one's familiarity with French culture. Since it has been argued that initially at least the audience of ME texts was also that of French literature, this double act of identification is plausible. Despite being unusual in containing mainly ME items, Auchinleck does not seem to fret over such French elements. In being about Englishness it is not a simple proclamation but a searching, which would include a search for the kinds of English that would suit the expression of that identity.

Laȝamon's style has similarly been seen as an attempt to express Englishness, and was no more followed up than that of the *KA* group (despite indications that *LB* was better known than scholarship once supposed).[7] All of this suggests that French versus English was not, for these particular authors, the salient distinction when engaging with ideas of collectivity. Perhaps the distance between the languages and cultures was seen as insufficient for one to be able to function as Other, despite tensions with France.

[7] James I. McNelis, 'Layamon as Auctor,' in Le Saux, ed., *The Text and Tradition of Laȝamon's 'Brut'*, pp. 253–72.

6.3 Religious Identities

Studies of language and religion, a new subfield of sociolinguistics, analyse the ways in which each of these influences the other and how both function as identity markers.[8] Although there is much of interest to say about religious identity in these texts (e.g. the problematic representation of pagan heroes in *LB* and *KA*), it is necessary here to maintain focus on the role of French elements in the expression of religious identity.[9] There is no immediate relevance with regard to the sociocultural implications of French elements in *LB*, *KA* and *HS*. There are ways in which French might conceivably have been associated with religious identity in medieval Britain, but only *HS* provides a hint of meaningful interaction.

Christian identity itself is of course central to *HS*, the main purpose of which is to identify and teach which behaviours are required of those belonging to this collective identity.[10] The centrality of Christian identity is also essential in reminding us that collective identity in medieval Britain is more complex than some traditional oppositions of English and French allow for, uniting as it does French and English within western Christianity.[11] The normative ubiquity of Catholicism imbues the

[8] Ana Souza, 'Language and religious identities,' in Preece, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Language and Identity*, pp. 195–209. Cf. John E. Joseph, *Language and Identity: National, Ethnic, Religious* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), pp. 172–223.

[9] For *LB*, Françoise Le Saux concludes the author's interests are more moral than religious (*Layamon's 'Brut': The Poem and its Sources*, Arthurian Studies XIX (Cambridge: Brewer, 1989), pp. 155–82). On Christians and pagans in *KA*, see 3.1.

[10] The plural in this section title reflects awareness of the plurality of practices and collective identities present within organised religions. The unitary image of medieval Christianity was achieved through great effort and obscures the constant creation, acceptance and suppression of new interpretations of the faith. Those who fell outside of orthodoxy were quite literally demonised, as were Jews and Saracens. In everyday life, contact with those who complicated the accepted view will have stimulated reflection, comparison and evaluation of identities, which sometimes took the form of aggressive assertion of orthodoxy. This is dealt with in detail in J. J. Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain: On Difficult Middles* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006). Mannyng is careful to counter popular error and superstition, as discussed in Scott, pp. 392–94, and Platts.

[11] At the same time, Christianity played a central part in constructing a collective English identity, though not in contrast to other Christian nations (Kathy Lavezzo, 'Nation,' in *A Handbook of Middle English Studies*, ed. by Marion Turner (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), pp. 363–78). For example, thirteenth-century AF hagiography evidences a particular interest in fostering communal cohesion through religion. See Françoise Laurent, *Plaire et édifier: les récits hagiographiques composés en Angleterre aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Paris: Champion, 1998), and more recently Emma Campbell, *Medieval Saints' Lives: The Gift, Kinship and Community in Old French Hagiography* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2008).

narratorial presence and worldview of Mannyng as well as La3amon and the *KA* poet, and a core binary for identity in each of these texts is Christian/Other.[12]

Mannyng only mentions French explicitly when explaining the title (*manuel de pecches*, lines 81–86) and the religious term **sacrilege** (8597). As such, the language is presented as linked to clerical learning.[13] **Sacrilege** was at least a relatively new term. This could mean that Mannyng's mention of French was simply to signal a neologism, alerting readers to the fact that he was translating from French or helping them realise they already knew the word from that language. Equally well, however, it may have been in the process of being established in ME religious discourse, with merely a remaining association with French.[14]

Being able to make free use of such a term in English may have formed a link between practising one's Christian identity and an awareness of French as language relevant to that, even if neither French nor English was particularly significant for religious discourse. Mannyng's explicit attention to the term's origin teaches the word as linked to that language, reinforcing that connection.[15] This then appears to be a sociocultural implication of a French element in ME. It must be emphasised that it occurs only twice in a lengthy text and is limited to religious terminology, not extending to other French elements. A phrase like *veyes moy sy* had different connotations and like most of the remaining French vocabulary of *HS* is not signalled as French in the text itself. If Mannyng had an interest in teaching a connection between French and religious terminology, his small number of mentions of the language of origin remains to be explained. More probably he had no such general intention and **sacrilege** only gives us a glimpse of Mannyng's own association of the French term with religious discourse.

6.4 Social and Professional Identities

There is a well-recognised association in the ME period of social status and a command of the French language. This was inherited from the Conquest, as the aristocracy and

[12] In *HS*, another core binary is lay/clerical, but those on either side have the same religious identity.
[13] See 5.5, note 71.
[14] Even in French it was a distinctly learned form. The *TLF* suggests it was in use in the late twelfth century (in a sermon of St. Bernard), but the earliest quoted examples in OF dictionaries are from *c.* 1220 and in AF, in Frere Angier's translation of the *Dialogues* of St Gregory.
[15] There is an apparent contrast with the way in which Mannyng renders difficult terminology like that to do with transsubstantiation: there, he explains the concepts without using the Romance terms. See Scott. This is born out by my findings in 4.6 that of the small set of rare or unique French-derived words in *HS* hardly any concern religious terms.

upper nobility retained the use of that language, even when in subsequent generations many learned English and came to see themselves as English. In *HS*, a lord in disguise could be recognised as being of noble blood by his mode of speech among other things (see 5.4.2). Going even further, Robert of Gloucester asserts that a command of French was a prerequisite for a man to be thought well of ('Vor bote a man conne frenss . me telþ of him lute').[16] Robert is unlikely to be speaking only of nobles here, so that this comment in fact reminds us of the varied ways in which knowledge of French was a way to social advancement by 1300. For nobles and professionals alike, using French provided a way of affirming social and professional identities.

This has led to frequent suggestions that ME authors could use French-derived elements in their texts to tap into the social prestige of that language, either for their general style, for specific passages, or to mark the speech or description of certain characters. In 5.4, I examined possible instances of such marked uses in *LB*, *KA* and *HS*, while 5.5 considered the implications of the French phrases found in *KA* and *HS*. Here, I discuss first the French phrases and French-derived vocabulary in the representation of the social status of characters, and lastly the implications of the texts' French elements as a whole for the assertion of social identities.

The phrases are used in much the same way as those studied by Thea Summerfield in chronicles and romances, for a variety of local literary effects and comprehensible in context for those with little knowledge of French. For example, the royal setting of Queen Candace's halls is reinforced by the French phrase signalling the time to retire (*a choger*). Both Alisaunder and Darius are set off from lesser characters by their use of French phrases on multiple occasions, in contrast to the more frequent basic tags like *parfay* which are used by a greater range of characters including a *cherle* (at 6348). The phrases include a highly vulgar outburst by Alisaunder when faced with treason, creating an interesting juxtaposition of low register and high-status language that enhances a tense and troublesome point in the action (3912; see 5.4.3).

A similarly sophisticated use of a French phrase is found in *HS*, where it is the only switch to French other than standard items like *bele amye* or *pur charyte*. This phrase, *veyes moy sy*, is used in the context of a husband who is under his wife's yoke (2938;

[16] *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, RS 86, ed. by W.A. Wright (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1887), line 7541. This passage is easily quoted but Robert is not simply lodging a complaint, for he concludes by saying that the more one can or knows, the worthier one is. Also, the passage begins with a line explaining the coming of French to England, along with the Normans, who at that time (*þo*) knew only French, clearly suggesting they knew English by the time Robert wrote.

see 5.4.2). The context suggests they are at least relatively well-to-do. The phrase does not signal social status unambiguously. Rather, it heightens the irony of the situation by using a prestige form while describing the husband's loss of the power and status of his normal social position as male head of the household. The passage is fabliau-like not just in the reversal of social roles but also in setting the scene for cuckoldry and the French phrase appears to augment its effect by tapping into the social implications of French.

Some of Summerfield's examples underline the fact that membership of a social group, as signalled here by the use of French, can be valued differently by others. The French phrases found in Robert of Gloucester's chronicle are mostly spoken by characters depicted in a negative light, leading Summerfield to argue that he is tapping into negative status connotations of French.[17] As concluded in 1.4.2.2, collective identities relating to peoples or land varied according to the extent to which one identified with the greater realm. In addition, it depended on whether the Norman subjection of the English was felt to endure, which surely in turn was influenced by one's material welfare and social prestige. For some, ideas of Englishness may have intersected with the experience of social class.

In relation to this, it is interesting to note that simple French phrases like *bel ami* and *pur charyte* are found in both *HS* and *KA* in the speech of characters of a relatively varied social background, from kings to merchants to beggars.[18] These would have been often heard and easily learned even by those without further skills in French. We may imagine a variety of uses by lower class speakers, embracing both serious situations (like the beggar addressing a wealthy man) and parody. Either of these might accommodate those who valued French prestige negatively. No clear examples of this have been found in *LB*, *KA* and *HS*. We do not know, for example, how the man begging for charity felt about the use of the phrase. It may have been perfectly neutral and normal, ironically imitative or even an empowering experience; the sparse context gives no indication.

---

[17] Thea Summerfield, '"Fi a debles," quath the king': language mixing in England's vernacular historical narratives, c.1290–c.1340,' in Wogan-Browne, ed., *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*, pp. 68–80 (73–75). The single switch to French she identified for Mannyng's *Story of England* relates to Simon de Montfort and is suggested to have derived from a song, included for authenticity (p. 72). Cf. 5.5.

[18] For the use by a beggar, see *HS*, line 5611. On *bel ami*, see 5.4.2, note 48. There is only one rhyme tag with a French element in *LB* (Otho's *wiþ houte delaie*, line 17480), used by the narrator as he describes Arthur's summoning of his lords to newly established Stonehenge.

These ME texts thus use French phrases with varying social implications, depending on context, character, and the audience's social identity. They are effective but not uniform in signalling social identities. In fact what is notable is that social identity is portrayed more through the inclusion of such phrases than by distinguishing the speech of characters more generally. ME texts only infrequently exploit speech habits or dialect features for characterisation (see 5.4.2). My analysis showed that there was no consistent use of marked French elements in the speech of characters of social standing beyond clichéd tags and occasional French phrases. Most of the French-derived vocabulary was relatively integrated by the time these texts were written. As a consequence, they probably no longer had connotations that tied them to French. Rare French-derived vocabulary does not seem to be distributed to this end either.[19] Speech by noble characters of course contains French-derived words beyond the phrases, but not in a consistently different degree from the surrounding narrative or the speech of others. Nor do the speeches of a character in similar contexts contain consistent degrees of French elements. Where register variation was exploited in the sections analysed, this was to point to the style of OF epic and romance (taken up in 6.5).

For more integrated vocabulary, the question remains of how long words retained an association with French. The answer will have varied between speakers, and been influenced by knowledge of the word's existence in French. Perhaps this variability confronted authors, too, and offers an explanation for the preponderance of French phrases rather than French-derived lexis in the speech of high-status characters. Compared to isolated words, complete phrases are clearly recognisable to a broad audience as being French. French-derived words may have been most effective when density and rarity are combined: a large number including rare words could mark a passage as highly French. That is not however to say that we should expect to find such differentiation in all texts.

The social prestige afforded by French did not solely signal a noble status. The diverse group of professionals who had acquired the language participated in this multilingual literary culture, as producers, copiers and consumers. More generally they meet Robert of Gloucester's linguistic requirement for being thought well of. It is to be expected that their speech may have been marked by French elements, either general or

[19] For some forms, like **essel** in *LB* and **esquaimous** in *HS*, it was postulated that they may serve to mark the social status of a character, but this cannot be supposed with any certainty and the context in which they appear does not feature other notable French elements.

specific to their subject area. As such the social identities which French elements were capable of signalling may well have been broader than we usually allow. In *LB*, *KA* and *HS*, there are few moments involving characters whose professional identity could be signalled this way, and French elements are not found there. The merchant and his wife in *HS* who use *pur charyte* provide ambiguous evidence, for merchants were of many kinds of social stature, and those at the upper end fully participated in French literary culture.[20]

The social connotations of French elements might conceivably also function to position an entire text with regard to a potential audience, if they are included in or excluded from the text's overall style. This again concerns only those French elements that were still recognisable as such and hence could still function as identity features. The small number of notable French elements in *HS* and the generally integrated nature of most of its French-derived vocabulary correspond to Mannyng's proposed mission of reaching a broad audience. The language use of *HS* as a whole does not appear be a vehicle of social prestige, containing too few marked forms to function as such. Where French is brought into the text explicitly, it is as language of religious learning. This need not exclude the simultaneous expression of a social identity (learning in itself carried status). However, although Mannyng's occasional use of French phrases for characterisation and literary effect demonstrates he was well aware of the language's social connotations, there is no indication he is appropriating that prestige for his text. This does not mean that *HS* has no implications with regard to social identity. A socially broad group of readers or listeners could feel at home with its style, not put off by elements they would consider proper only to social groups they did not belong to.

LB is similar in containing few marked French elements. In the Caligula version there is a relatively low amount of French-derived lexis, even of the well-integrated kind. Might that apparent avoidance be intended to target a social group that did not associate itself with the high-status language? The size and cost of Laȝamon's project hardly suggest that he was writing for the socially underprivileged. There may have been a well-off social group who formulated their collective identity inclusively, associating themselves with the local ordinary English. There are certainly examples of this, listed by Moffat, with authors who were well-to-do complaining of the abject state

[20] Cf. P. R. Coss, 'Aspects of Cultural Diffusion in Medieval England,' *Past & Present* 108 (1985), 35–79 and Phillipa C. Maddern, 'Social Mobility,' in Horrox and Ormrod, eds, *A Social History of England*, pp. 113–33.

of the English in inclusive terms. Such an ethnic identity that professed social inclusivity would not have required actual social approximation. It could function by avoiding language features with socially exclusive connotations. As concluded in 6.2, though, it is by no means clear that Laȝamon's ideas about ethnic identity involved hostility to French, and his style may also be explained as an attempt to imitate pre-Conquest writing traditions, as preserved locally (see 2.1.2). When Arthur, at the peak of his achievements, is addressed as **sire**, the single time this common lordly appellation finds its way into *LB*, the social connotations of French do not seem to be denied. They are made almost unattainable for anyone of lesser stature than Arthur, the text's hero whom the reader is invited to identify as future hope of the English.

In *KA* we have a text which by contrast contains a notable number of rare French elements. In addition to the phrases, rhyme tags and vocabulary treated here, there are many calques on French expressions.[21] The task at hand is to regain a sense of the social implications of this overall style. In the conclusion to chapter 3, we were left with several interpretations, for which chapter 5 provided further data. The first of these, Summerfield's idea of their function in creating a French flavour, is evident for the phrases but more complicated for the French-derived vocabulary, as discussed above.

Second, Baswell's reading of the *fitz a puteyn* passage presented the French phrases as a sudden eruption. This cannot be sustained in the broader context of the *KA* style, and the sudden effect of that particular passage is due rather to the juxtaposition of low register and high-status language. However, his idea of French as underlying ME texts like the erased text beneath a palimpsest is supported (though with modifications) by the even distribution of the French elements. In effect, *KA* shows a ME that is infused throughout with French, in slightly varying degrees. Baswell interprets this as the text's attempt to 'hold onto Anglo-French as the palimpsest language that authenticates heroic antiquity and aristocratic hierarchy'.[22] Transposing this idea to the perspectives of audience and social identity as envisaged by the poet, the following implications emerge. It has been suggested that bilingual audiences who were part of French literary culture also became interested in ME literature. In that move, the choice of a highly

[21] Smithers, II, p. 57.

[22] Christopher Baswell, 'Multilingualism on the Page', in *Middle English*, ed. by Paul Strohm (Oxford: OUP, 2007), pp. 38–50 (p. 46); discussed in Thea Summerfield, '"And She Answered in Hir Language": Aspects of Multilingualism in the Auchinleck Manuscript,' in *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain c. 1066–1520*, ed. by Ad Putter and Judith A. Jefferson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 241–58 (p. 255). I agree with Summerfield that an alternative metaphor used by Baswell, that of *pentimento*, is less helpful in envisaging ME writing because it suggests an artist's correction of an error.

French style would allow them to retain the social status associated with French. A poet writing for such an audience could well be aware of this.

Lastly, several options were suggested by Margaret Bridges, who pondered whether the text's language was a hybrid, either sought out by the author or reflecting the language of that place and time, or the result of frequent code-switching, or the palimpsest-like trace of the source text (see 3.1.3). Which option is to be preferred rests on a question of coherence. The distribution of vocabulary across the text, analysed in 5.2.2, confirms that the rare elements are found throughout the text, suggesting a coherent style. This is confirmed by the general lack of register dependence as found in 5.4. The main exception to this was a cluster of rare words clearly evocative of OF epic and romance, a specific register imported from French that does not survive in ME beyond its use here. Echoes of this register appear elsewhere in *KA*, and the concentration in these passages is a crescendo rather than a break with the rest of the text. A dependence on context was found, in contrast, for the appearance of French phrases, which is associated especially with the representation of the speech of noble characters.

These latter constitute code-switches, bringing in French grammatical structures instead of just lexis, albeit a switch between French and a ME that is already highly French. It is difficult to ascertain whether the rare French vocabulary would have been perceived as a code-switch, too. The question would probably have been seen as peculiar by the poet and the bilingual part of his audience, for whom a grey area existed of words and phrases felt to belong to both languages. If the practice of code-switching was accepted in a discourse community, moreover, does not the resulting linguistic form qualify as a variety of ME? Certainly there is no indication in the way these terms are used in *KA* that they stood out. Awareness of this group of bilinguals as likely audience for the text makes it highly probable that the style of *KA* was a recognisable and coherent variety of ME for at least a certain group of speakers, a hybrid language but no chimera spawned by a poet.[23]

This suggests that the originally intended audience for *KA* most probably included bilingual speakers of professional or knightly backgrounds who could not only

[23] In some varieties of ME the text is grammatically English but lexis is drawn in large part from an existing French register, as in English legal records or epistles. The style of *KA* does not display this degree of French influence, except perhaps the epic passages. See 1.2 and cf. Ad Putter, 'The French of English Letters: Two Trilingual Verse Epistles in Context,' in Wogan-Browne, ed., *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*, pp. 397–408.

appreciate the details of the author's linguistic play but through that appreciation felt confirmed in their social status. Both then and in subsequent audiences, the resulting style was open for adoption by those with little knowledge of French. Such readers would have been aware of the social implications of the French elements they learned from the text. They may have experienced this as a chance to appropriate that status. However, the lack of diffusion of the *KA* style would suggest no such appropriation took place. The revised text in the Lincoln's Inn manuscript also evidences that the style was not considered fitting for its fifteenth-century audience, and some of the rarest forms were misunderstood.[24] By that time, French had decreased in use (though it was far from moribund), and perhaps the bilingual competence we have been supposing that would have been ideally fitted for appreciation of this text was attained by a smaller group of people (whatever their exact social position). Or indeed tastes may have changed; this issue of cultural identity is the subject of the next section.

In all, the French elements in *LB*, *KA* and *HS* reveal different implications for social identity. On the one hand, they are used to represent characters of social standing, and this is done in some cases to interesting literary effect. On the other hand, the texts' overall styles are suggestive of the social identity of their possible intended audiences, by allowing them to feel comfortable with either the lack of marked French elements or their continued presence. Much of the French-derived vocabulary in these texts, however, was sufficiently integrated in ME to have been of little use in negotiating social identities.

6.5 Cultural and Literary Identities

Sections 6.2 to 6.4 raised the potential relevance of cultural traditions for the appearance of French elements in *LB*, *KA* and *HS* to explain the low number of such elements in *LB* or the epic terminology found in *KA*. This is the final set of identities to be considered here. To what cultural and literary traditions do these texts belong? Do their conventions explain the use of French elements? Do those elements allow its audience to associate themselves with particular group identities? That a range of cultural behaviours and expressions may serve to assert identity is evident, whether we see someone wearing a Metallica t-shirt or find the full works of Proust on their bookshelf.

[24] For a different interpretation of this revision, see 3.1.

The types of identity treated here differ from the 'collective cultural identities' of 6.2. The latter concern association with a larger component of society, involving (whether mythical or historical) a biological or political unity. Cultural identity as considered in this section may form part of the repertoire of features by which such larger collective identities are formed. However, either within that collective or apart from it individuals may associate themselves with others based primarily on their participation in certain cultural activities, regularly or on particular occasions. This may coincide with social identity, though it need not. In addition, the central role of Christianity in shaping identities in medieval England may be considered cultural as well as religious.

Focusing again on French in ME, it is probable that subcultures or literary traditions could be characterised by the way in which they employ French elements. ME authors would be able to associate their texts with a tradition through the specific use of French elements, allowing their audience to do so in turn. This need not entail a slavish following of a style, but carries potential for modification of the norm and hence negotiation of cultural identities. My discussion here provides a preliminary examination of relevant examples of the relation between French elements and cultural identity in *LB*, *KA* and *HS*. As in previous sections, most of the French elements carry no clear socio-cultural implication.

The immediate cultural affiliations of *LB*, *KA* and *HS* are with their respective literary traditions or genre.[25] The modes of composition and sets of conventions we call genres cross both borders and languages. *LB*, *KA* and *HS* are each translations of French texts, which in turn depended on Latin sources (though each also appears to include material from other sources, including Latin).[26] In spite of this, my analysis in chapters 2–5 revealed only slight evidence of direct lexical influence from source to translation (see especially 5.3), and just a few possible examples of French elements showing a relation to cultural traditions. Consequently, the number of examples that may be given here is limited.

The clearest example concerns the epic descriptions in *KA*, when the register of OF epic and romance is brought into English by use of words uniquely found here in

[25] On the modern construction of genre and the study of medieval texts, see the useful discussion in Julie Orlemanski, 'Genre,' *A Handbook of Middle English Studies*, ed. by Marion Turner (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), pp. 207–21.
[26] See Le Saux, *The Poem and Its Sources*, pp. 94-117 and 155-82; Smithers, pp. 15-28; and Sullens, p. 13. Jeremy Catto highlights the importance of viewing ME writing in the context of Latin writing in 'Written English: The Making of the Language, 1370–1400,' *Past and Present* 179 (2003), 24–59.

surviving ME (analysed in 5.4.4). *KA* is generally called a romance, though its fifteenth-century manuscript context and annotations suggest rather an interest in history.[27] Romance as a genre takes its very name from the French language and is characterised by the use of French elements like rhyming tags, found there in greater numbers than in other genres. By using many of these, *KA* aligns itself with the style of romance, an identification that may have had cultural implications. To judge what these were, we need to regain a sense of the cultural associations of romance. The term itself (**romaunce** n) is not of much help, for it has various senses.[28] Texts refer to a range of adventures as **romaunce**, while others pitch their narratives as more morally serious by disparaging typical romance stories.

Beyond question is the general popularity of the genre. Studies of ME and AF romance have concluded that the genre shows much variation in its probable audiences and cultural associations, including 'most levels of production' though only a few are de luxe or linkable to noble households, and merchant ownership is traceable only from the fifteenth century.[29] Consequently, each manuscript version needs to be considered in the context of its manuscript, production and ownership history. For earlier manuscripts, such information is often scant.

The manuscript contexts in which *KA* is found vary but all betray a historical interest, particularly the later manuscripts and their annotations. In Auchinleck, together with two Charlemagne romances, it forms an exception to the focus on English heroes. Whether it was included for variation or to imbue the English heroes with a greater historical pedigree by association remains a question. Laud 622 pairs it with various other texts on the Middle East, while in Lincoln's Inn Alexander is one of three Worthies represented by the secular texts, before the shift to *Piers Plowman*.[30]

---

[27] Nicole Clifton, '*Kyng Alisaunder* and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 622,' *Journal of the Early Book Society for the Study of Manuscripts and Printing History* 18 (2015), 29–49. On the generic affiliations of the Alexander tradition, see 3.1 and Geneva M. Diamond, 'Literary influences and adaptation in the Middle English *Kyng Alisaunder*' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Kansas, 2008).

[28] Cf. *KA* 668, 1916 and 6159.

[29] Carol M. Meale, '"gode men / Wiues maydnes and alle men": Romance and Its Audiences,' in *Readings in Medieval English Romance*, ed. by Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), pp. 209–25 (p. 214). Useful later studies include Michael Johnston, *Romance and the Gentry in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: OUP, 2014).

[30] Clifton, 'Laud Misc. 622,' p. 39.

In 3.1.1, I noted the argument that romance formed a key vehicle for the promulgation of English identity in the early fourteenth century.[31] If this is correct, then *KA* could share in that by virtue of being a romance, even though 6.2 concluded that the French elements in *LB*, *KA* and *HS* provide no indication that they are involved in the negotiation of English identity. This is not the place to fully evaluate the association of romance with English identity. Given the great differences between romances, however, it seems to make too much of generic affiliation if we extend that association to *KA* based on genre alone. *KA* deviates from the romances considered central in this expression of identity, in subject matter as well as in style.

By bringing in the register of French epic and romance as well as other rare vocabulary, *KA* aligns itself not just with romance in general, as it was becoming established in ME, but with a specifically French tradition. Given the more tenuous links between language and collective identity in fourteenth-century England, this connection to French culture need not in itself preclude the text's contribution to a discourse of Englishness. It is perhaps more probable to read it primarily in terms of a cultural affiliation. At a time when a diverse group of bilinguals was turning to ME literature next to their participation in French literary culture, the style adopted in *KA* allows its audience to experience continuity rather than rupture.

In 6.4, this continuity of audience was read in terms of social identity, the rare French elements in *KA* interpreted as capable of signalling social status (whether of gentry or professionals).[32] Given the particular cultural origin of this epic vocabulary, it seems more accurate to conclude that *KA* could aid in expressing social identity because of its inclusion of specific cultural elements. In other words, social identity is in this instance expressed by way of cultural identity rather than directly; or at least these identity features function to express both types. As was noted in 1.4.1, it is not viable to disentangle clusters of identities expressed through the same features.

The French elements in *KA* have attracted attention precisely because ME romance in general did not base its style prominently on French elements, other than the rhyme

[31] See 6.2. On the varied interests revealed by romances, see also Susan Crane, *Insular Romance: Politics, Faith, and Culture in Anglo-Norman and Middle English Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Rosalind Field, 'Subjects of Translation: Romance,' in Ellis, ed., *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, pp. 296–331; Christopher Cannon, *The Grounds of English Literature* (Oxford: OUP, 2004), pp. 172–209; and William Calin, *The French Tradition and the Literature of Medieval England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), pp. 427–56.

[32] Cf. Sif Rikhardsdottir, 'The Imperial Implications of Medieval Translations: Old Norse and Middle English Versions of Marie de France's *Lais*,' *Studies in Philology* 105.2 (2008), 144–64.

tags. As Cannon and Elsweiler show, the core vocabulary of romances is largely native (though generalisations are difficult to make about this diverse range of texts with different verse forms). Their concern was with the style of *LB*, for despite several studies which have identified romance or courtly elements in that text these do not involve the use of French.[33] Having examined the cultural knowledge implied for the *Brut*'s audience, Rosamund Allen notes that it needs 'both literary sophistication and versatility in recognising a variety of genres and their parodic application', including romance as well as Latin narrative and late OE writing. This creates a richly interwoven style with a range of cultural connotations, about which Allen concludes that 'the oddness of Laȝamon's English has been overemphasised: his English is not as uniform as has been claimed and beside what may be echoes of OE verse and archaisms of lexis, there are other Englishes in the text, some colloquial and informal, some scholarly, yet others religious in tone and diction'.[34] Given the low use of French elements in these Englishes and my focus on the implications of French elements, this is not the place to further analyse Laȝamon's style. Whether or not its exact combination of stylistic elements has a parallel in a South-West Midlands literary tradition, though, the different influences are found in other texts.

In terms of genre, *LB* is generally considered a historical narrative, albeit perhaps with an unusual style. Such texts' views of history or cultural affiliations do not correlate with their use of French elements, as is most evident from Langtoft's chronicle, written in AF but highly critical of the Normans. The use of French in ME historical writing varies, too. The main finding relevant in this regard is Summerfield's work on the inclusion of French phrases, which appear either in narratives associated with particular historical moments or for local rhetorical effects.[35] No such phrases appear in *LB*, though there is one French element prompted by historical particulars: the comment that Englishmen, having been given tails by Augustine's curse, are called *cued* in many lands may pun on French **cué** 'tailed' and ME **qued** 'evil' (see 2.3).

Nor does the *Brut*'s Arthurian section tie in with a tradition that would give specific sociocultural implications to the use of French elements. Other than the text's unique use of **sire**, addressed to Arthur by a foreign king, there is no connection between its

[33] Le Saux, *The Poem and Its Sources*, pp. 59–73; Rosamund Allen, 'The Implied Audience of Laȝamon's *Brut*,' in Le Saux, ed., *The Text and Tradition of Layamon's 'Brut'*, pp. 121–39.
[34] Allen, 'Implied Audience,' p. 130.
[35] Summerfield, '"Fi a debles"'; cf. 5.5.

French elements and literary traditions. Similarly, the only cultural tradition tenuously connected to the use of French elements in *HS* is Christianity, discussed in 6.3. The interesting glimpses which *HS* provides of oral traditions by including local tales as exempla will certainly have been connected to cultural or regional collective identities, but these do not involve notable French elements.

There is, lastly, a different way in which French elements have been seen as contributing to the cultural identity expressed in ME texts. This is the suggestion, formulated most elaborately by Christopher Cannon, that the general style of ME literature is characterised by the introduction of French (and Latin) words.[36] What was originally a need created by constant translation would have resulted in an overall propensity for lexical innovation. My analysis of the French elements in *LB*, *KA* and *HS* shows that very few were introduced from the source, and suggests those working on these texts drew them from a more general currency. As *LB* shows, ME authors were quite capable of adjusting their style to be less influenced by French if they wanted to. Although this might imply that even well-integrated French-derived words could be recognised as French, the absence of such words in *LB* could also, as noted above, result from an attempt to write in a literary style derived from earlier English literature in which these elements were simply not yet present. Their being out of character in that style, not their recognition as French-derived, may have precluded them from being used in *LB*. That so many ME authors chose to write in a way that included many French-derived words therefore says as much about their expectations of their audiences as about their own multilingual competence.

The key point indeed is that ME and AF were already so connected, membrane-like, in various oral and written contexts that when ME writers set out to translate from French an overlapping zone existed for them to draw on. This would be accessible enough to those with little French competence, and the lexis thus introduced spread to them, but was tailored to a group comfortable in that overlap. Earlier in his book Cannon in fact emphasises that lexical borrowing did not occur solely via literature. But if literary activity does not lead to borrowing, only to lexical innovation, how can a word that was already borrowed be considered a lexical innovation?

[36] Christopher Cannon, *The Making of Chaucer's English: A Study of Words*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: CUP, 1998).

What matters is not just that early ME authors created literary style out of the process of translation and thus a habit of using Romance terms; it is that they operated in a broader culture of which at least a part allowed and expected them to have those Romance terms in their baggage.[37] We may allow that some authors purposely introduced new terms, hoping to teach them to their readers, for we cannot reduce all translators to a single intention. With its evident didactic purpose and patient explanation of concepts, Scott shows, *HS* generally uses accessible terminology. At the very moments when Mannyng could have introduced a novel term by explaining it, he chooses to avoid lexical innovation and uses what was current instead. In *KA*, the rare French-derived words would appear to reflect a desire for novelties, such as bringing in the register of French epic, but if that was so the effort was not effective and its style not emulated. The most likely reading of these terms' inclusion remains that a part at least of the intended audience would have appreciated them.

Earlier ME texts each introduce a fair number of Romance terms into the written record.[38] An analysis of French-derived vocabulary in these three early ME texts, however, does not suggest a foundational role for lexical innovation based on the use of French elements. The role for French lexis in the development of a ME literary tradition is formidable, not so much because there is a causative correlation with the act of translation or a subsequent taste for lexical innovation, but because many authors and readers were in touch with the cultural sphere that included French and English. That connection explains *both* the great number of ME translations from French *and* the lexical influence of French on English.

6.6 Conclusion

Many of the French elements in *LB*, *KA* and *HS* were sufficiently integrated to have had few remaining associations with French. As such they were not so much without sociocultural implications as providing an accepted colloquial register, which did not differ in its sociocultural implications from that part of the native word-stock seeing

[37] Cf. Derek Pearsall, 'Before Chaucer: evidences of an English literary vernacular with a standardizing tendency,' in *The Beginnings of Standardization: Language and Culture in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. by Ursula Schaeffer (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 27–41.
[38] Cannon provides tables of these, which show 104 antedatings of 'new romance borrowings used by Chaucer' from *KA*, 96 from Mannyng's *HS* and 88 from his *Story of England* (*Making of Chaucer's English*, p. 62).

regular use in everyday contexts. Command of that register might seem neutral for those who used it (unmarked language use), but allowed them to pass as members of the local collective and not stand out through linguistic habits.[39]

Conversely, the rarer French elements in the texts do not have a uniform set of sociocultural implications, reflecting the many contexts in which both French and English operated and the different sources of French influence on English. Each instance is used for a particular effect in the text and provides an association with one or more from among a set of possible collective identities. The single French phrase in *HS* (*veyes moy sy*) offers interesting play on the social identity of the speaker, revealing the expectation that Mannyng's audience would associate the use of French with social standing, but not in any simplistic way. The epic vocabulary found in *KA* implies association with that French literary genre, allowing the audience of such texts to experience continuity as they turned to texts in English. Here, cultural identity either coincides with or aids the expression of the social identity also associated with one's ability to participate in an elite culture. For many rare words, however, it remains hard to recover their 'flavour' with any probability, and no evident implications for ethnic, national or religious identities have been identified here. Although such collective identities might intersect with language use in medieval contexts too, these texts provide further evidence for the tenuousness of that link as far as French elements are concerned. The implications of these findings for the texts' audiences as well as for the question of the possible neutrality of French elements are taken up in the conclusion to this thesis.

[39] Joseph, *Language and Identity*, p. 167.

Conclusion

The findings of chapters 2–4, my analysis of the French-derived vocabulary in *LB*, *KA* and *HS*, are summarised in 5.1. Chapters 5 and 6 turned to the context of the French elements, chapter 6 focusing on the sociocultural implications by way of looking at several types of identity in relation to the use of French elements. My findings there are summarised at the end of the chapter. This conclusion turns instead to the more general implications of my study. What are the sociocultural implications of French elements in earlier ME texts? A one-word answer would have to be *varied*, and for a more detailed answer we need to consider different types of French elements:

1. Well-integrated French-derived vocabulary
2. Less integrated French-derived vocabulary (recent additions to ME)
3. Unintegrated French vocabulary commonly found in ME (rhyme tags and certain speech markers; e.g. *par ma fey*)
4. Unintegrated French vocabulary rarely or only once found in ME
5. Unintegrated French phrases uniquely found in ME in one of these texts, e.g. *veyes moy sy*

My analysis is based on the attested use of French-derived vocabulary in the *MED* quotations. *MED* entries provide an incomplete record of ME lexis. Consequently, conclusions about the degree of integration are not definitive, but for the full set of words studied reveal a clear pattern (see 1.5.3).

Only very few French elements were linkable to continental French only, confirming the idea that the use of French elements in ME must in the main be ascribed to the long-term intimate contact of ME with the French of England. The main finding of chapters 2 and 4, that the majority of the French elements in *LB* and *HS* were probably well integrated in ME by the early fourteenth century, places these elements in the first category. By consequence, their main sociocultural implication is that such a large number of words had become thoroughly integrated by that time. Chapter 5 showed that French elements belonging to the remaining categories reveal no single pattern, just as no simple explanation concerning distribution, source text, or register is found. Some few French-derived words or phrases are linked to the source text, but not most; some few are explained with reference to register, but not most. In chapter 6, similarly, explanations focused on the expression of identities lacked an overall pattern. The French elements in these texts, at least, provide no support for a connection between the

use of English (or French) and ethnic, national or religious identity. More indications are found for social and cultural implications in the use of French. Some suggest a simple association of French and social status, but others reveal more sophisticated effects as inverted expectations of language use reinforce a scene. Yet others point rather to a shared participation in a cultural sphere inclusive of both French and English.

There were obviously different reasons for French to make its way into English texts. Those that have been uncovered in my analysis point back in one way or another to the close contact between the two languages in medieval culture as well as in the minds of the group of multilingual speakers, sketched in 1.2. They were an elite in the sense that the majority of the population was still excluded from such knowledge of French, but they were not as socially limited as has traditionally been suggested, with a diverse origin in various pragmatic literacies. My findings suggest that they should be seen as crucial group not just in the dissemination of French-derived vocabulary in ME but also (in various roles) in the multilingual literary culture of later thirteenth-century and early fourteenth-century England.

In terms of audience, the findings for *KA* support the idea that its audience like that of other romances will initially have coincided with that for French romances, though a mixed audience such as that found in the great hall of noble residences would also have included those unfamiliar with that literature. For *HS*, Mannyng's claim of writing for an unlearned audience is consonant with the language use of surviving manuscripts, and importantly highlights the extent to which a great deal of French-derived lexis had become acceptable and accessible. For *LB*, the implications are harder to trace, for the low number of French elements does not of course entail that it was necessarily written for an audience ignorant of that language. Nor does the lack of French tell us for certain that its intended audience did not wish to encounter it. At several points in the text, rare French-derived words seem to be used for literary effects that would be missed if the audience included none who knew French, or that might be spurned if they disliked it.

As to the neutrality of French elements, this was obviously the case for the common French-derived vocabulary: if it was sufficiently integrated to be a normal part of ME lexis, it could no longer have been a source of tension. To those who knew it to be part of more than one language, it might have carried some association with French, but for such speakers the evidence suggests a merging of the languages rather than two fully separate systems between which tension could exist. For forms recognisably linked to

French, the choice to include them in English would carry sociocultural implications that depend on context. The sociocultural situation in medieval England certainly allows for tensions. Nevertheless, the particular French elements found in *LB*, *KA* and *HS* do not provide clear evidence for that, least of all for the exploration of ethnic or national tensions.

The conclusions above are based on a limited number of words and phrases that could be linked with some confidence to certain sociocultural implications. For many of the French elements, however, this was not yet possible. As 5.4 suggested, further studies of ME registers may be the most promising way of recovering further implications, illustrating how these words were typically used and what usage associations they are likely to have had.

Another important desideratum is a better understanding of the great number of French-derived words that appear between 1300 and 1350. In chapter 4, I concluded that their simultaneous appearance in different texts of around the same date makes it plausible that they had been in use spoken or written ME before that, and would therefore have been integrated already. It would be desirable to support this conclusion with firmer evidence. This is all the more important because if these words were indeed well integrated and saw use in spoken interaction, the implication is that by 1350 readers were already capable of handling a great deal of French-derived vocabulary. We should not think of them as paving the way for the later fourteenth-century reader (a description that implies some amount of duress on the part of the earlier readers), but as showing how early it was normal to use much French-derived vocabulary. There is unlikely to have been much difference between the earlier and later ME readers, each being presented with a form of ME that was accessible and interesting, the interest potentially lying in a small number of unusual terms, brought in for literary effect. That being said, texts of course vary within these periods, a variation that may well reflect differences between audiences due to regional or social background.

The need for further research on the words first attested 1300–1350 also highlights the fact that in dealing with this kind of data, dictionary attestations in the main, there are many uncertainties even as digital availability of dictionaries in English, French and Latin increases the ease of cross-reference. Nevertheless, it should be evident that much more may be said with the kind of analysis demonstrated in my thesis than without it. In the absence of an established methodology for such work, this thesis has been able to

offer a beginning and example of such explorations. Studies of multilingualism on the page, of style in relation to French, and of identity in relation to language use should base their analysis on a broad picture of the multilingual elements in the text as well as their representation of multilingualism.

Appendix 1: Vocabulary of French Origin in Laȝamon's *Brut*

This appendix gives lists of the basic information on the vocabulary of French origin in Laȝamon's *Brut* that is part of my study. The entries in the *MED* and *OED* are given, followed by the forms as found in the *Brut* along with non-exhaustive line numbers referring to Madden's edition. The latter are based on references I came across in earlier studies (see 2.2; hence my use of Madden here) and my own reading and analysis. They were included as I encountered them and do not form a concordance. Bracketed words in these columns indicate a form used in the Otho or Caligula *Brut* instead of the word of French origin. The last columns detail the relevant *AND* headword and any uses of the word or related forms in Wace's works.[1] Where relevant, details of the etymology or use are given in footnotes. These also comment, where relevant, on the attestations of related words. Comments of the type 'attested from 1300' mean that a word is attested at least once every fifty-year period from that time, based on the *MED* manuscript dating. If the *MED* headword is italicised, this indicates the word is found also in *Kyng Alisaunder*; if it is in bold, the word is also found in *Handlyng Synne*. The list contains 91 words, of which 50 are also in *Handlyng Synne*. A number following the part of speech indicates the relevant entry in the *MED* or *OED* (see 1.5.1).

MED		***OED***	***Brut* form**	**Otho**	**Caligula**	***AND***	**Wace**
abbeie	n	abbey	abbey, abbayes	29717, 29721	(chire-che)	abbaie	abeïe (6478 etc.)
alasken	v	alaski 'relieve'	alaski	8838	(lutlien)	eslachi-er, lascher	laschier, eslaissier in various other senses
anoien	v	annoy	anued	2259	(un-eðe)	ennoier	enuier 'causer de l'ennui à qn.' (4030,

[1] The latter is based on Hans-Erich Keller, *Étude Descriptive sur le Vocabulaire de Wace* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1953). The form given is that in his index; line numbers refer to forms from the *Roman de Brut* (*RB*) only and are taken from Keller's study, who used Arnold's edition. Where a form is only attested in another work by Wace that title is given. This is only the case for his *Roman de Rou*, for which Keller used the following edition: H. Andresen, *Maistre Wace's Roman de Rou et des Ducs de Normandie*, 2 vols (Heilbronn: Henninger, 1877–1879). Cf. the more recent edition in *Wace: The 'Roman de Rou'*, trans. Glyn S. Burgess, with the text of Anthony J. Holden and notes by Glyn S. Burgess and Elisabeth van Houts (St Helier: Société Jersiaise, 2002).

MED		***OED***	***Brut* form**	**Otho**	**Caligula**	***AND***	**Wace**
							10436)
ariven	v	arrive	ariued	16063	16063	ariver	ariva (14225 etc.)[2]
arsoun	n	arson n 1	harsun	2263[3]	(exle)	arçun[1]	(in *Roman de Rou* 4054, 7070)
aspien	v	aspy	aspide	19737		espier[1]	espie (n) (843 etc.)
atir	n	attire	atyr	3275		atir[1]	[4]
baroun	n	baron	barun, barunes	5319, 16922	5319 (beorn)	baron	baron (188 etc.)[5]
bitraien	v	betray	bitraien	8923	(swiken)	trahir	traïr (2191 etc.)[6]
boune	n	bound n 1	bunnen		1313	bounde[1]	borne (738)[7]
cacchen	v	catch	cacchen, cache, cahte, icæhte, ikahte	4547, 22354, 31501	4547, 10843, 22354, 28719, 31501.	chacer[1]	chacier
canoun	n 2	canon n	canunes,	19852,	19852,	chanon	chanuine[8]

[2] In both Wace and *LB*, the word is used in the context of arriving at the shore, the later broadening of meaning not yet having occurred (recorded from ?1380 in the *MED*).

[3] In the next line, Otho uses *gisarme* for *wi-æx*. The *MED* notes cf. ML *arcionem*.

[4] Only *ator* is listed in Keller; this unrelated noun has similar senses. In *RB*, it is used only in the sense 'ornement' (10443 etc.).

[5] Elsweiler makes the plausible suggestion that, as a term nearly synonymous to native **beorn** and close to it in form, confusion arose between the forms (p. 353). This explains e.g. the use in Otho 16922, where Caligula has **beorn**. In fact, Otho always uses **baroun** where Caligula uses **beorn** in the sense 'warrior'. The single use in Caligula, at 5319, might be explained by the near-rhyme with the following word (*barunes sune*), which would not be present with **beorn**.

[6] Interestingly, the form **traien**, which corresponds to the OF etymon **traïr** and from which **bitraien** is supposed to derive, is attested later than **bitraien** in the *MED*, providing an example of the presumable gaps in the surviving written record. Alternatively, it may remind us that lexical borrowing does not always proceed by the steps we expect.

[7] The adoption of this word may have been aided through association with various OE and ME forms derived from the verb **bind**. The *AND* entry does not record forms of this exact type, and links to the *MED* entry for **bounde** (n) rather than **boune**. As the *OED* etymology notes, the history of the French forms of the type *borne* is uncertain. This is the form used in Wace. Otho's use of **woninge** is at first sight a rather different word than **boune**, and suggests unfamiliarity with the regular use of **boune**/**bounde** for the Pillars. That Hercules not only built pillars/posts but an actual house or dwelling place is an odd reading not suggested by Wace (cf. Madden's gloss of 'habitations'; p. 56). It need not be a misunderstanding, though. Sense 1c in the *MED* entry for **woninge**, 'a land, territory, country', is not far removed from sense 2 in the *AND* entry **bounde**, 'area, land within boundaries'. As the next line already mentions the Pillars, which are the actual markers, Otho's introducing them as constituting his territory is at least a possibility, though the passage remains a bit odd, and **post** (n 1) is often used to indicate a part of a building.

MED		***OED***	***Brut* form**	**Otho**	**Caligula**	***AND***	**Wace**
		2	canones	21857, 24288, 29852	21861, 24289, 29852, 29874		
catel	n	cattle	catel	30673	(æhte)[9]	chatel[1]	chatel
chapele	n	chapel	chapel	26140	(chire-che)	chapele[1]	chapele
chaung-en	v	change	changede	3791	(twine-den)	changer	changier
cheisil	n	chaisel	cheisil	23761	23761	cheinsil	
chere 'face'	n 1	cheer n 1	cheres	18936	(gareres)	chere[1]	chiere 'mine, visage' (668)[10]
chevetai-ne	n	chief-tain	cheuetei-ne	5879	(hertoȝe)[11]	cheve-tain	cheve-taigne
cloke	n 1	cloak	cloke	13097	(cape)[12]	cloke[1]	(chape)[13]

[8] **Canoun** (n 1) denotes canon law and was attested in OE from Latin. As such the word itself was already familiar, but gained a new sense in a form modelled on OF.

[9] Wyld suggests **catel** is also used in Caligula; this would be **caðel** (10023, 10261), of which the *MED* notes 'Prob. scribal error for *æðel* or *catel*'. B.S. Monroe suggested it was a form of **catel** ('French words in Laȝamon,' *Modern Philology* 4.3 (1907), 559–67). At 10023, Otho has *homes*, and at 10261 *cund*. If it is the same word, it is peculiar for Otho to have avoided **catel** twice where it appears in Caligula, only to use it later on, unless the oddity of the form threw the redactor. Perhaps the form in Caligula must simply be considered an oddity and probable error.

[10] See comment in 2.5 on the form in Caligula. The *MED* entry **chere** lists a number of senses that are not in the *AND*, including sense 4, 'manner, bearing', which is the sense used in the one instance in Otho. It is in the scene where Merlin instructs Uther on how to get Igerne, stating that his manners and bearing will be like the earl. The *MED* mentions the ultimate origin in Latin *cara* in its etymology, but the ME form clearly points to a source in French; similarly, the *OED3* entry concludes it is of French origin.

[11] There is a slip in Elsweiler's discussion of this term when she claims it is equivalent to *hæfd-mon* in Caligula (p. 349; note that she characterises the difference with the term 'replaces', similar to Cannon's vocabulary of 'substitution', thus seeing Caligula's readings as original). At 5879 Caligula uses *hertoȝe* (**here-towa** n 'leader, commander'), not attested in the *MED* after 1225 except for Caligula. The passage with *hæfd-men* is at 16147; Otho does not have an equivalent line to the one with *hæfd-men*, being typically sparser and not repeating the detailed reason the British are angry with Hengest. The equivalent passage in Wace refers to *la baronie* (7595).

[12] Both versions of the *Brut* use **cope** at 7783 to describe the fact that Caesar's great tower in France, Odres, has a top that can be covered with one knight's cloak. The pun present in Caligula, that the **cope** (*capen*, in Caligula's preferred spelling) can cover the tower's head or **cop** is not found in Otho, where *top* is used, perhaps easier to understand. At 29749 the line is partially damaged in Otho, but the remaining legible letters, 'cant...', suggest that the line read *cantel-cape* like Caligula, and the rest of the line is the same, including the ending *pape* that would rhyme with *cape*. At 30850, however, the entire section in Caligula where **cope** is used has no equivalent in Otho.

[13] Taken into English from OF, the ultimate origin is Late Latin from Celtic. The form of the ME noun shows it is derived from a Northern or North-Western form, as opposed to central *cloche* (compare the different spellings in the *AND*, where Northern forms are slightly more common). Intriguingly, some French dictionaries claim it is a feminine garment, even though the English uses, including that of the *Brut*, make clear men wore them, too ('he nam one cloke; | of his one cnihte. | and on þe monek he hure dude', lines 13097–99). But compare the *DMF* entry **cloche**[1] (C1): 'Manteau de voyage porté par les hommes et les femmes (étroit en haut, large et arrondi par le bas), sorte de cape.'

MED		***OED***	***Brut* form**	**Otho**	**Caligula**	***AND***	**Wace**
contree	n	country	contre	1282		contree	contree
coriun 'instru-ment'	n	coriun	coriun[14]		7002	(cf. *DMF* choron)	corun
crie	n	cry n	cri, cry	11991, 27034	(weop, luden)	cri	cri
delaie	n	delay	delaie	17480 [15]		delai	(delaier other texts only; laier only in sense 'abandon-ner')
dolful	adj	doleful adj 1	deolful	6902, 11996	(ladli-che)	(duel etc.)	duel, dolent
dousse-per	n pl	douze-pers	dosse-peres, dusze-pers	1622	1622	duze[1], per[1]	doze pers (see per)[16]
dubben[17]	v	dub v 1	dobben, dubben, idobbed, idubbed	19578, 22497, 23252	(makede) 19578, 22497, 30105	dubber, aduber	aduber only in sense 'équiper'
escapen	v	escape	ascapade a-chaped (cf. scapen)	1611, 18269	(at-breac, awei idraȝene)	eschaper	eschaper
essel	n	essel	essel	18992	18992	essel cf. essele[2]	cf. aissele 'aisselle'; ais 'petite

[14] The form is unusual; the *MED* notes 'cf. OF choron & ML chorus' and that Wace has *choron*, and the unrevised *OED* entry gives little more information. Perhaps the rhyme with *salteriun* prompted the particular form.

[15] Found only in the phrase 'wiþ houte delaie', rhyming with *Witesonedaiȝe*. There is no rhyme in Caligula at this point. Several lines found in Caligula are not present in Otho; they present some repetitive material. See also discussion of rhyming tags in chapter 3. This is the only instance of such a tag with a French element in either version of the *Brut*. The equivalent passage in Wace (8162–67) does not have the phrase or any form of **delaie**. The phrase could have some semantic weight: it is Uther bidding to 'al his folk muri; | þat hii come to Amres-buri. | wiþ-houte delaie; | in þan Witesone-daiȝe'. They really should not dally. Right after this in Wace there is a comment on the different names of Stonehenge, while in Laȝamon there is only 'lette halȝi þane stude; þat hatte Stonhenge' (17497–98).

[16] This word is flagged as OF through the comment 'þa Freinsce heo cleopeden'. The *MED* notes this was a phrase in early ME, later becoming a compound used as singular. **Per** (n) is attested from 1300 (and in a text of c1250 surviving in a later manuscript).

[17] As the *OED* notes, this word was held to be from Germanic, but this is doubtful; it is most likely to have come from OF with its ultimate derivation unknown. There is a single surviving attestation in OE. The *OED* also comments that the expected form adopted into English would be *adub*. Otho is consistent in <*o*> spellings where Caligula has <*u*>.

MED		***OED***	***Brut* form**	**Otho**	**Caligula**	***AND***	**Wace**
							planche' not in *RB*[18]
estre 'estate'	n 3c	estre	eastresse	[19]	3583	estre[1], estre[2]	estre (inf) 'situation' (14287); estre (n) only in sense 'galerie d'un étage supérieur'
failen	v	fail	failede	2938	(wakede an aðelan)	faillir	faillir
fel	adj	fell	felle	5302	(præt)	felun[1]	fel 'cruel'
fol	adj	fool	fole	15026	(swikele)	fol[1]	fol
fol	n	fool	fol	1442, 2271, 6513, 20308	(sot)	fol[1]	(in *Roman de Rou*)
folie		folly n 1	foli	3024	(sotsci-pe)	folie[1]	folie
gile	n 3	guile	gile, gyle	3198, 16385	(swiken, uuel)	gile	
ginne	n	gin n 1	ginne, ginnen	1336, 2374, 2846, 18839, (þinge)	1336, 2374, 2846, 18839, 29209,[20] 30566	engin	engin

[18] What exact word this represents is unclear, and the various options have complex histories. We cannot discard the possibility that it was simply a misunderstood form, a newly coined diminutive of **es** (n 1) 'board' (*AND*), or indeed an entirely native development relating to e.g. **axel** (n 2 'axle' or n 1 'shoulder'. Where the *OED* derives **axle** from ON, the *TLF* points to Latin *axilis*, a diminutive of *axis*, as origin for *essel* (**essieu** n). We may be dealing with linguistic cross-fertilisation. In the *MED* this word is only attested in *LB*. This is in the scene of Igerne's seduction, this time as Uther and Merlin ask entry at the gates of Tintagel. It is used as a compound, *ȝæt essel*, which might be an explanatory echo of *castle-ȝeate* in the previous line: if you didn't know *essel*, then the combination of *undo* and *ȝæt* would explain a lot. The two forms, *AND* entries **essel** 'axle' and **essele[1]** 'armpit', are explained as contrasting pair in Bibbesworth's *Trétiz*: 'Desouz le bras avez ascel [gloss: armole] | Parmi le char gist le escel [gloss: axetre]' (99–100; see *Walter of Bibbesworth: Le Tretiz*, ed. by W. Rothwell, ANTS Plain Texts Series 6 (1990)).

[19] Otho has 'to speken wid his dohter' for Caligula's 'to isen his eastresse'. No such French word is used in the Leir/Cordelia scene so it seems to be an addition. The ME word merges meanings of two separate OF words (*AND* **estre[1]** 'situation, state' and **estre[2]** 'halls').

[20] There is no equivalent passage in Otho.

MED		***OED***	***Brut* form**	**Otho**	**Caligula**	***AND***	**Wace**
iginned	adj		igynned	28627	(idiht)		[21]
gisarme	n	gisarme	gisarme, gishar-mes	1567, 2264, 29891	(æx, wi-æx)	gisarme	(in *Roman de Rou*)
gise	n	guise	guyse	19641	(wisen)	guise	guise 'manière'
grace	n	grace	grace	6616	(milce)	grace	rendre graces a (639) (grace (n) in other texts only)
graunten	v	grant v	granti, granty, grantede, grantete	4789, 14152 [22]	(ȝettest, ȝette)	granter	graanter 58, 399, 4812
halen	v	haul	halede, helden	16712, 25887	16712, 25887	haler[1]	haler
hardi	adj	hardy adj	hardiere, ardieste, hardieste	4181, 4348, 14470	(hæhste)	hardi	hardi
heue	n 2	hue n 2	hiue	(hi-h(er)e)	790	hu[1]	hu 'cri' (3082, 8486, 11937)[23]
hostage	n 1	hostage n 1	hostage	4784, 8905, 22792	(gisel)	hostage[1]	ostage (2584, 2592)

[21] The two ME uses are each in a sense 'contrived, constructed, shaped', unlike those given in the *AND* for the past participle ('deceived' and 'disappointed'). The *OED* does not include the use in *LB* under **i-ginet** 'contrived, devised'. The meaning in *LB* is rather unclear. The term describes the women in the boat who take Arthur to Avalon, said to be 'wunderliche idiht'/'wonderliche igynned'. The women are not mentioned in Wace. The *MED* seems to follow Madden's gloss of 'formed', presuming their physical appearance is unusual. Caligula's reading *idiht* is of little help, for **dighten** has a wide range of senses, of which such diverse ones as 'dress', 'transport (over the sea)', or 'assign' might be plausible in the context. Allen's translation, based on Caligula, opts for 'in remarkable attire' (line 14285; cf. her note on p. 461). How this would tie in with Otho's *igynned* remains unclear, although several senses listed in the *MED* under **ginne** (n) might work, ranging from those relating to schemes and magic (1–2) to 'a ship' (3a). In the latter case, the wondrous aspect of the boat might be that such a small one (*sceort*/*sort*) had been able to pass over the sea. The general commonality of the two words with their various senses may be supposed to be the arrangement of it all, to which *igynned* adds a clear connotation of the supernatural to supplement Laȝamon's innovative description of the inhabitants of Avalon as elves.

[22] There are a total of eight uses in Otho, of which four are followed in the next half-line by 'al þat he ȝornde' or a close variation to that phrase, suggesting either a collocation pattern or one of the flexible formulae employed by Laȝamon (on which see Dennis P. Donahue, *Lawman's 'Brut', an early Arthurian poem: a study of Middle English formulaic composition* (Lewiston: Mellen, 1991)).

[23] In the *MED* this quote is the only one for the sense 'sound of a trumpet blast', which is not evident from the *AND* entry either.

MED		***OED***	***Brut* form**	**Otho**	**Caligula**	***AND***	**Wace**
image	n	image	ymages	18206	(imaken)	image	image (635 etc.)[24]
latimer	n	latimer	latimer	14319	14319	latimer	latinier (6958)
lof	n 4	luff n 1	lof, lofes, loues	7859, 20949, 30922	7859, 9744, 20949, 30922	lof	lof (11212)[25]
male 'bag' 3+	n 2	mail n 2	male	3543	3543	male[1]	(in *Roman de Rou*)
manere	n 1	manner n 1	manere	894, 16673, 18983	3892,[26] (þus)	manere[1]	maniere
marble	n/ adj	marble n and adj	marbre	1138, 1318	(marme, marmon)	marbre	
masoun	n	mason n 1	machu-nes, machuns[27]	15478	15465, 15478	mason[1]	maçun 729, 7975, 7997
maumet	n	maumet	maumet[28]		29221	mahu-met	(only mahome-rie)
messager	n	messen-ger	messa-gere	8299	(erendra-ke)	messa-ger	messagier (806 etc.)
mountai ne	n	mountain	montaine	25673	1282	muntai-ne	muntaigne (1095, 222 etc.)
paien	v	pay v 1	paide, ipaid	2340, 2365,	(bi-luuide,	paier	(in *Roman de Rou*

[24] The form in Caligula has a range of senses relating to 'partner, companion (piece)'. There are only two attestations after Caligula.

[25] A nautical term, this is attested in various documents in the thirteenth and fourteenth but little in other texts. Cf. the attention to nautical precision in Wace, which Laȝamon often leaves out. This term however is used various times. The *OED* supports the *MED* etymology in pointing to a fairly definite OF source, though the ulterior etymology is unclear, with Dutch most likely. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that it entered English from Germanic.

[26] For Caligula, the status of the word is unclear; *ma* of *ma*|*nere* is crossed out, leaving a reading *nere* that is preferred by Madden as well as Brook and Leslie. But cf. the comment at this point in the tagged text of Caligula, part 1, hand B in *LAEME*:

> Madden takes resulting NERE as 'never' but that spelling does not seem to be in this scribe's repertoire. Madden translates 'such as before never came' which does not account for the word HARE. There may be some corruption here. Otho paraphrases: SOCH NEUERE NE COM. But taking SULCHE HARE MANERE as genitive 'of such a manner' makes reasonable sense and fits with the scribe's spelling system also.

[27] Madden glosses the term 'machine(s)'. No forms of that noun are attested in the *MED*; the earliest listed in the *OED* dates to 1545. The context in *LB* also suggests 'mason' is a better fit, and forms of the type <*machun*> are attested in other ME texts as well as the *AND*.

[28] The word is used only in the sense 'idol of a pagan god' and not as a name.

MED		***OED***	***Brut* form**	**Otho**	**Caligula**	***AND***	**Wace**
				3265, 10530	iherde, ȝette)		1817 etc.)
park	n	park n	parc	1433	(frið)	park	(in *Roman de Rou* 5863)
passen	v	pass v	passi	1341	(liðe[n])	passer[3]	passer (2683 etc.)
pencel 3+	n 1	pencel	pensiles	27183	(here-mærken)	penun-cel	(only penun 'petit drapeau', not in *RB*)
pes	n	peace n	pais	480, 2520, 2683, 6096[29]	(frið (2), sæht-nesse, griðe, leoþ, sibbe)	pes[1]	pais (38 etc.)
pesen	v	pease v	paisi, paisinge	8783, 8839, 11664	(hustinge sæhtni-en)	peser[1]	
postel 3+	n 1	postel	postles	(pos-tes)	1317[30]	postel	(only post, postis, posterne, not in *RB*)
povre	adj	poor	pore, pouere, poure	2565, 6442, 12136, 22715	(hæne, hene), 22715	povre[1]	povre (1498 etc.)
prive	adj 1	privy A	priuemen	6885	(hered-men)	privé	(only privee-ment)
proud	adj	proud adj	prout, prut, prute, pruttest, protest	31462 etc.	31462 etc.	pru	prot (178 etc.)[31]

[29] Several of these uses are accompanied by a synonym, like 'in pais and in griþe', much like the frequent phrase 'inne griðe & inne friðe' in Caligula. For line 6069, the passage in Wace also contains *pais* (3246).
[30] The word is used here referring to the Pillars of Hercules. No other such use is attested and no other reference to the Pillars uses this term in the *MED*. Brook and Leslie emend to *postes*, noting that <*le*> is right beneath the <*le*> of *muchelen* in the manuscript. The form would imply a French diminutive *postele*, not recorded in the *AND* or its concordance.
[31] According to *MED*, the influence of OE forms of the type *pryt* on this adjective in ME was very slight. The noun and adjective on the whole however were well established in (late) OE. The *OED3* concludes it is of French origin.

MED		***OED***	***Brut* form**	**Otho**	**Caligula**	***AND***	**Wace**
rollen	v 2	roll v	rollede	11124	(ruoke-den)	rouler	(in *Roman de Rou* 261)[32]
route 3+	n 1	rout n 1	route	2598, 25416	(hired, weored)	rute[2]	rote, rute 12462
sailen	v 1	sail v 2	seælled		6147[33]	assaillir	assaillir (320 etc.)
salteriun	n	psalterio n	salteriun		7001	psaltier, psalterie	psalterium (3702, 10551)[34]
scapen	v 1	scape v 1	scapie	826, 2173	(atwin-dan, quec-chen)	eschaper	eschaper
scar 'scorn'	n	scare n 1	scar	(son-de)	5835, 20746, 29584	escharn	eschar 'moquerie' (1858 etc.)[35]
scarmu-chen	v	skirmish	sceremi-gge	8144		eskirmi-ger	escermir
scorn	n	scorn n	scarn, scornes	29564, 17307	(stanen), 17307	escharn	eschar 'moquerie' (1858 etc.)[36]
scorning e[37]	ger	scorning	scær-ninge, scor-	2791	2791		escharnir

[32] Although the word is attested in many other ME texts, this is the only use in sense 4c, 'polish (a weapon)', also the only sense in which the verb is attested in Wace's works (though not in the *Roman de Brut*).

[33] There is no equivalent line in Otho. The form given here is the manuscript reading; Madden emends this to *seælleð* and glosses 'assail (?)'. The *OED* entry does not cite the *Brut*.

[34] The *OED3* entry **psalterion** gives Greek as main origin, but notes it was originally adopted in ME via OF. This clearly applies for the use in the *Brut*. According to *MED* this is a *hapax legomenon*. **Salteriun**, based on the form in Wace, is related to **sautrie**, listed in the *OED* under **psaltery** and **psalter** (sense II.5), with attestations from OE onwards. Some forms are similar enough that they might have aided comprehension of *salteriun*, certainly given the context of a list of instruments. The addition of **timpe** might be due to its association with **coriun** derived from the *Vulgate*, Ps. cl. 4, which contains the combination 'in tympano et choro' (noted in the *OED* entry **coriun**). Also in the same list of instruments is **lire** (n 3), with only one other attestation in the *MED*. Because of the possible influence of Latin in its adoption into English, it was excluded from the main list. The context in which it is used and presence in the source at this point in the text suggest a primary role for French for this particular instance.

[35] This word is attested only for the *Brut* in the *MED*. The *OED* does not seem to have this sense, though it does give **scar** (n 2) from OF *escare*, but only in the modern sense 'scar'.

[36] **Scar** (n) is only found in the *Brut*. For forms of **scorn** in <a>, such as also found in Caligula, the distinction between the two words is very fine. The single use of *scarn* rather than *scar* in Caligula is accompanied by a synonym ('þa þe king Gillomar; | makede mucchel hoker & scarn').

[37] This headword is not found through the *MED* etymological search, as the etymological note only refers to **scornen** (v). I retrieved it now through *LAEME*.

MED		***OED***	***Brut* form**	**Otho**	**Caligula**	***AND***	**Wace**
			ni[n]ge				
seuen 'follow'	v 1	sue v	siwi, siwede	1388, 16438	(mid fare, after wende)	sivre	sivre
sire	n	sire n, sir	sire	22485	22485	sire[1]	Sire, seignor
skirmen	v	skirm	scurmen, skirmden		8144, 8406	eskermir	escermir
spiere	n	spier n	spiares	1488, 1492, 26161, 26875	(hauwe-res)	espier[3]	espie[38]
storen	v	store v	istored, istured	(togad ere), 13412	8118,[39] (bitæht)	estorer	(in other texts only)
streit 'fierce'	adj	strait adj	streit		22270	streit, estreit[1]	estreit 'etroit' (2954)
strife	n	strife n	strif	25966	(flit)	estrif	estrif (2146 etc.)
striven	v	strive v	striuende	15561		estriver[1]	estriver (10571)
strivinge	ger	striving	striuinge		15561		estriver (10571)
tresour	n	treasure n	tresur	28834 [40]	(æhte)	tresor	tresor
treuage	n	trewage	truage	7189, 7373, 9200	(gauel, ȝeld)	triuage	treuage (9702)
Trinite	n	trinity	Trinitet-ðes	29533 [41]	29533	trinité	Trinité (13701)
waiten	v	wait v 1, v 2	waiteþ	23077		gaiter	gaitier 'guetter' (387, 13548)
waste	adj	waste adj	west,	1120,	1123,	gast	guast (623,

[38] The *MED* suggests the form **spiere** was derived from the ME verb **spien** (v 1) and/or an OF form **espieor** (cf. *AND* **espiur**); notably, a subject form *espier*(*r*)*e* is not mentioned. The *AND* has a separate entry for **espier**[3] 'a spy' with a single attestation in the late fourteenth century, while no such form is mentioned in Godefroy, or the *FEW*. In Tobler-Lommatzsch, there is an entry **espiere-espieor**, but without any citations.

[39] The form in Caligula may instead be of OE **stiren** (v), the *MED* notes.

[40] The manuscript reading is *esur*, with preceding damage.

[41] In Caligula, *t*^{i}*net* was added in a later hand, with the original reading just *ðes*, while in Otho only *nete* is legible, with space for about three letters before that, as noted by Brook and Leslie.

MED		***OED***	***Brut* form**	**Otho**	**Caligula**	***AND***	**Wace**
			weste	[42] 10591	10591, 16267, 30334		14709)[43]
wasten	v	waste v	wasten, wasti, awest	22579	2211, 22575	gaster[1]	gaster (625)
werre	n	war n 1	weora, weorre, werre, worre	4347, 2626, 6029	170, 2626, (comp), 6029, 18660, 28874,[44] 30351	guerre	guerre (269 etc.)[45]
werren, werreien [46]	v	war v 1	werri	3741, 3755, 20191	heriȝen, 3755, 6451,[47] 20191	guerrer[2]	guerreier (216, 3580, 5454)

[42] The form in Caligula is *westiȝe*, *MED* **westi** (adj) 'desolate, deserted' from OE **westig**. It is attested up to 1250 and then in two alliterative texts only. The existence of this form would probably have supported the adoption of **waste** (adj) (and maybe even the verb), while the use of **waste** in its <*e*> forms may have ousted the use of *westi*. Three lines later Caligula does use **waste** in a line not present Otho. **Weste** (adj), also of OE origin, is found in three texts after 1200 as well as both versions of the *Brut*. The distinction between the native and French-derived forms is difficult to maintain; a French influence is to be supposed for the eventual ME form in <*a*>, but it is hard to say that **waste** was fully French-derived.

[43] The *MED* does not give any quotations from the *Brut* under the adjective. It does note that it is at times hard to distinguish between the past participle and the adjective.

[44] The corresponding passage in Otho is damaged.

[45] The *MED* etymology suggests the ME form is mostly from French, but does note a comparison to ML and Middle Dutch. The *OED* merely points to the Germanic roots of the OF word.

[46] The *MED* notes that quotations have been distributed between these two verbs based on spelling, but that this does not solve the confusion between the two. Note that the adoption of these words may have been eased by words of similar form and related sense: especially **weren** (v 1, 'repel, guard against, protect') but perhaps also **werien** (v, 'weary, fatigue, loose heart') or **wersen** (v, 'worsen), in a process like that discussed in 2.5. Madden's glossarial remark for line 3741 argues for the existence of a verb of this form meaning 'to war' in OE, which would push back the word's adoption even further (III, p. 463). Bosworth-Toller records **werian**, ME **weren** (v 1) 'repel, guard against, protect' but no other such forms; whether this is the form Madden referred to is unknown.

[47] There is no equivalent line in Otho.

Appendix 2: Vocabulary of Mixed or Other Origins in Laȝamon's *Brut*

This appendix lists words for which a French origin has been suggested, but which have been excluded from my primary data set for Laȝamon's *Brut*. The reasons for this vary and are explained in 1.5.2.1 in general and, where necessary, in footnotes here. The first columns detail the *MED* and *OED* headwords and word type, after which the forms found in the *Brut* are given. Then follow non-exhaustive line references for the Otho and Caligula versions, from Madden's edition (see Appendix 1). Bracketed words in these columns indicate a form used in the Otho or Caligula *Brut* instead of the word of French origin. The final column mentions the source of the suggestion of French origin and, where relevant, brief etymological notes such as a derivation from Latin in Old English ('OE < L'). Comments of the type 'attested from 1300' mean that a word is attested at least once every fifty-year period from that time, based on the *MED* manuscript datings. If the *MED* headword is italicised, this indicates the word is found also in *Kyng Alisaunder*; if it is in bold, the word is also found in *Handlyng Synne*. A number following the part of speech indicates the relevant entry in the *MED* or *OED*.

MED		***OED***	***Brut***	***Used in O***	***Used in C***	***Source of suggestion OF origin***
abaten	v	abate v 1	abat		652	Böhnke[1]
amiral	n	admiral	admiral		27668, 27689	
ampulle	n	ampul	ampulle	14986, 19767	14986, 19767	Wyld, *MED* (OE < L)
anker	n	anchor n 1	ankeres, ancreas	25539	25539	*MED* (OE, L)
apostoile	n	apostoile	appostolie	(pope)	29614	Madden, Brut (OE <L)
arke	n	ark	arche, on	(þere,) 8965	26, 8965	*MED* (OE,

[1] Although **abaten** is of definite French origin, it is improbable we are dealing with a form of that verb. In *LAEME* it is seen as form of **abiden** (v) instead, based on the occasional final devoicing found for this hand, which would make *abat* as past tense of **abiden** plausible. *Abad* is recorded from elsewhere in the *Brut* (see Madden's glossary), and other forms with <*a*> as medial vowel are listed in the *MED* entry for **abiden**. In addition, a past tense of **abaten** would normally be of the type *abated*; French loans rarely became strong verbs and there is certainly no indication **abaten** did. In terms of meaning, Madden's gloss of 'repaired (his damages)' is rather weak, also in rendering the relatively abstract term *bale-siþ* with the very physical 'damages', and several known meanings of **abiden** would work better, in a reading of the kind 'bore his losses' or 'faced his misfortunes'. Allen's translation is 'experience the outcome' (line 327).

MED		***OED***	***Brut***	***Used in O***	***Used in C***	***Source of suggestion OF origin***
			archen			L)[2]
armen	v	arm v	ærme, harmi, armede	8655, 15313	(wepnede), 15313	[3]
astronomie	n 1	astrono-my	astrono-mie	24297	24298	Madden, *MED*, Luhmann (L)[4]
averil	n	April	Aueril, Auerel	24196	24196	[5]
banke 'bench'	n 2	bank n 2	benche, boncke	25185	25185	[6]
beste	n	beast	bestes	1323	(deor)	
cable	n	cable	cables, kablen	1338	1338	*MED* (L cabulus)
calender	n	calendar	kalender	7219	7219	*MED* (L kalendari-um)
canel	n 1	canel	canele	17745	17745	Madden, *MED* (L)
cardinal	n	cardinal	cardinal		29497	
castel	n	castle	castel (also castel-buri, castelȝat)	599 etc.	188 etc.	*MED* (OE, L)
comete	n	comet	comete	17871	17871	*MED* (L)[7]

[2] The OE forms are mainly spelled with <*k*> or <*c*>, so that this <*ch*> spelling might be due to Latin or OF influence.

[3] The *OED3* entry also concludes the word is of mixed origins. The n pl form **armes**, often from OF, is only used in the *Brut* (judging from *LAEME*) in the sense 'arm' rather than 'weapons', from OE. This is relatively close to the use of **armen**, in e.g. 15021.

[4] The word is clearly marked as unfamiliar term. After an explanation, it is given in Caligula as 'þe craft is ihate Astronomie'. Otho also uses this phrase, but interestingly adds 'in oþer kunnes speche'.

[5] The *MED* only records attestations in the *Brut* or after 1300, but the word was attested in OE in a recognisable form (*DOE* **aprelis**). Durkin concludes that the ME form shows definite French input, but that 'these month names could have shown continuity from the Old English period with little or no significant later influence, or they could show a convergence of (possibly learned) early borrowings with post-Conquest re-borrowing from French and/or Latin, or there could be complete discontinuity between the Old English and Middle English words' (*Borrowed Words*, p. 253).

[6] The *OED3* entry for **banke** (n 2) 'bench' concludes it is 'apparently' of OF origin and includes the quotation from Caligula. However, the etymological note also mentions the existence of both a native word **bench** (n), under which the form in Otho would fit, and a rare OE compound *hobanca* posited to derive from an alternative derivative from the Germanic base of **bench** (see *DOE* **?hōh-banca**). Given these possibilities, a purely French origin for the use in Caligula is improbable. The *OED* entries for the related forms **bench**, **benk** and **bink** have not yet been revised. Moreover, between Caligula and the next attestation of **banke**, for 1425, there is a considerable gap, in which **bench** is attested multiple times. This strongly suggests the form did not see further use in the interval.

[7] After a description in ME, this term is given with the qualification 'is ihate a latin'.

MED		***OED***	***Brut***	***Used in O***	***Used in C***	***Source of suggestion OF origin***
cope	n	cape n 1	cape, capen, cope	7782, (cloke), 29559	7782, 13097, 29559, 29749,[8] 30849	Luhmann
coroune	n	crown n	croune, crune	4251, 6766, etc.	4251, (kinehelm) etc.	Madden, Wyld, *MED* (<L/ON)[9]
corounen	v 1	crown v 1	cruneden, icruned, i-crouned	892, 31935,[10] 31941	(leodene,) 31935, 31941	[11]
counseil	n	council	conseil	2324	(husting)	
cuppe	n	cup n	coupe	(bolle,) 11400	14995, bolle	Wyld, *MED* (OE, L)
doten	v	dote v 1	dotie		3294	Böhnke, Luhmann[12]
duk	n	duke n	duc, dux, duck	various	various	Madden, Wyld, *MED* (L, OE)
duren	v	dure v	durede	26708	(heolden)	*MED* (L durare)
elefaunt (sense 3a)	n	elephant	olifantes bane, holifantes bone	23778	23778	*MED* (L; this spelling <OF)
fals	ad j	false adj	falsæn		30182, 31520	*MED* (L)
falsen	v	false v	falsie, fausie,	23967, 30406	23967, (scænden)	Madden, Wyld,

[8] The full form is *cantel-cape.* The line in Otho is damaged, but *cant* is legible, followed by sufficient space for the full word.
[9] See Wyld's entry *kinehelm*, which lists where the noun and verb are used in each text. Some uses are in the sense 'crown of the head'.
[10] Otho here has '...dene hii hene croune'.
[11] There is a single attestation in *DOE* for a verb form *gecoronadest*. Some of the forms in ME (*crounet* e.g.) bear enough resemblance that they might be associated with the existing term. A Germanic term *bēag* existed in OE too (ME **bei** n, used in the *Brut* in other senses) that is attested throughout the ME period (with three attestations in the sense 'crown').
[12] Included by both Böhnke and Luhmann as of OF origin, the *MED* only mentions it is 'Prob. OE ; cp. MDu. doten, dutten'. The *OED* etymology points out that there is no trace of the OE verb which would be cognate to the Dutch, while an OF verb adopted from Germanic existed which might be the source of the ME forms. This would be supported by the existence of English derivatives with French suffixes, although I suppose those may also have been adopted so easily because a native form already existed. Monroe thought a Middle Dutch origin was most likely (p. 562).

MED		***OED***	***Brut***	***Used in O***	***Used in C***	***Source of suggestion OF origin***
			faulsede			*MED* (L falsare)[13]
feste	n		feste	14425	(ueorme)[14]	
flum	n	flume	flum, flom	(water,) 1299	542, 1299	Madden, *MED* (L)[15]
forke	n	fork n	forken, forkes, furken	5720	5720, 21102	*MED* (OE<L, OF)
gingivere	n	ginger n	gingiuere		17746	*MED* (OF, ML, OE)
gives	n pl	gyve n	giues		15338	*MED*[16]
gripe	n 3	gripe	gripes		28062	*MED* (L)
hardien	v	hardi v	harde, hardi	5871	5871	[17]
heir	n	heir n	eyr	2470, 8990, 23115	(bearnlas)	Madden, Wyld (L)
heremite	n	hermit	armite, æaremite, heremite, heremites, heremiten	various	various	*MED* L
honour	n	honour n	honure	6084		
houne	n 1		hune	(many gome)	28978	Luhmann[18]
hurt	n	hurt n 1	hurte, hurtes	(harmes)	1837, 8178	*MED* (?OF or *OE)
hurten	v	hurt v	hurten		1878	*MED* (?OF or *OE)[19]

[13] Each use in the *Brut* is in sense 6b, 'fail, show weakness, give way'.
[14] *MED* **forme** (n 1) 'feast', from OE.
[15] See discussion in chapter 3. Here it is used for a river in Mauritania.
[16] The etymology is problematic, possibly an aberrant form of CF *givre* etc. 'viper' but the AF form may also be a borrowing from ME/OE (*OED*). If the latter is the case, *OED* notes that Laʒamon uses both the English and the French form of that word.
[17] The *OED3* entry for **hardy** (v) concludes it was formed by conversion in ME from **hardy**. However, an argument may be made that the forms in the *Brut* are of **harden** (v), from OE **heardian**: it can also mean embolden and in fact *OED* has the Caligula usage under this header (**hard** v). It was a class 2 weak verb in OE and this class normally absorbed French loans in *-ir* and *-ier*, so the two verbs would have been identical because the OE dipthong would have monophthongised to /æ/ and then merged in /a/ in ME. The *MED* quotes only Otho's usage, not Caligula's. The ending in <-*e*> is unusual, but the sentence structure does call for it to be a verb. Only **hardishen** (v) is linked to from the *AND* entry; this verb is found only in Gloucester's chronicle of c1325.
[18] Luhmann includes this word with a question mark; the *MED* indicates it is of ON origin. Cf. the *OED*'s comment that 'In Layamon, apparently < Old Norse *hún-n* knob at the masthead; in later use probably < French *hune* (from Norse) in same sense'.

MED		***OED***	***Brut***	***Used in O***	***Used in C***	***Source of suggestion OF origin***
ire	n	ire n	ire, yr	18597	18597	Madden (L)
lake	n 1	lake n 4	lac	1279–80	1279–80	*MED* (OE<L, OF)
Latin	n	latin adj etc.	Latin, latin	33, 17871	33, 12650,[20] 17871	MED (L)
laven	v	lave v 1	lauede	(leþerede)	7489	Luhmann; *MED* (OE, L, OF)
legate	n	legate n 1	legat	24501	24501, 29735	Wyld, *MED* (cf. ML legatus)[21]
legioun	n	legion n	legiuns, legions	6023–24	6023–24	*MED*, Elsweiler (L)[22]
lettre	n	letter n	lettre	4496	(boc-runen)	Wyld, *MED* (L littera) [23]
licoris	n	liquorice	licoriz	17745	17745	*MED* (L)
lioun	n	lion	leo, leon, lion, liun, lyons	various	various	*MED* (OE, L)[24]
lire	n 3	lyre n 1	lire		7003	*MED* (L)[25]
Mai	n 2	May	Maiȝe, Mæi, May	24200, 32198	24200, 32198	*MED* (L)
Makomete	n	mahomet	mahimet		14585	*MED* (ML)
mantel	n	mantle	mantel	14755, 15274[26]	14755, 15274	Madden (L)
mount	n 1	mount n	mont, montes, munt	25663, 25689	25663, 25689	*MED* (OE<L, OF)

[19] The sense of the OF verb is ‘to strike’ etc., with a reflexive use ‘hurt oneself’. The noun in OF is only attested in the fourteenth century, from Germanic. The etymology is not clear enough to confidently state there was only OF influence.
[20] There is no equivalent line in Otho.
[21] The term is introduced with the phrase ‘was icleopped’; it rhymes with *primat*.
[22] The Latin form is *legio*, without final *-n*, which is present in both forms in the *Brut*.
[23] The French equivalent is not found in the passage in Wace.
[24] The Latin form is *leo*, with an *-n* in inflected forms; the forms with <*i*> and <*y*> may point to OF influence. The variation in both Caligula and Otho is interesting.
[25] There is only one other attestation in *MED*. The word is used in the *Brut* in a list of instruments, so that exact understanding of the word was not necessary to get the general idea.
[26] This is the same line as the Caligula quotation. The second use refers to the same item.

MED		***OED***	***Brut***	***Used in O***	***Used in C***	***Source of suggestion OF origin***
nonnerie	n	nunnery	nonnerie	15642	(munstre)	
note	n 3	note n 2	note	7000		*MED* (L)
offren	v	offer v	offrede		8093	*MED* (L)
pal	n	pall n 1	pal, palle, palles, pælle, peal, pellen	various	various	*MED* (OE<L)
pape	n	pope n 1	pope	various	various	*MED* (OE < L)
paradise	n	paradise	paradise		24122	Madden, *MED*[27]
pilgrim	n	pilgrim	pelegrim, pillegrim		30730, 30736 30744	
pingen	v 1		puinden, pungde	23932	23932	Wyld, *MED* (L/OE<L)[28]
plight	n	plight n 1	pliht	various	various	*MED*[29]
port	n 2	port n 1	porz, Po[r]che	22415	22415	[30]
prelate	n	prelate	prelat		24502	*MED* (L)
primate	n 1	primate n 1	primat		29736	*MED* (L)[31]
prisoun	n	prison	prisune	1016	(quarcerne)	Madden, Wyld, *MED* (ML)
processiou	n	processio	processi-	18223	18223	Madden,

[27] Originally from Latin in OE, the ME form is most strongly indebted to OF. The *OED3* entry concludes it is of Latin origin, modelled on a French lexical item.

[28] The *MED* cites the *Brut* for this verb, meaning 'push, pierce, spur', and gives an etymology form Latin in OE and directly from Latin **pungere**.

[29] Derived from OE *pliht*, OF *pleit*, these forms are all clearly OE. The *MED* has a single entry for the form **plight** (from OE, noting the OF influence of *pleit*) and one for **ple** (from OF); *OED* has separate entries for a form from OE and from OF, though noting that they influenced one another semantically. **Plight** (n 2) notes that it came from a merger of two OF words. The senses in which **plight** (*MED*) is used in the *Brut* correspond with the old senses as noted in *OED* for OE and use the old spelling. As *OED* notes, <*gh*> disappeared in the fourteenth century, corresponding to pronunciations [pli:t] in many dialects and reflected in spellings like *plit*.

[30] The usage in Caligula forms the only attestation for *MED* sense 2 '?A pass or recess in the mountains; **portes of spaine**, such places in the Pyrenees'. This is a specific geographical reference also found in OF for passes in the Pyrenees. The form in Otho, *porche*, may suggest rather **porche** (n) 'porch, gate'. There is no indication from the context in the Brut that specifically passes in the Pyrenees are meant; even a sense 'the ports of Spain' would be possible, but the original intention was probably more specific.

[31] The word is in rhyming position after *legat*. The area in Otho is much damaged and there is no trace of *primat* and *legat*, though the few remaining letters suggest a similar line as Caligula's (cf. Brook and Leslie, pp. 776–77).

MED		***OED***	***Brut***	***Used in O***	***Used in C***	***Source of suggestion OF origin***
n		n	un			Wyld, *MED* (L)
purpure	n	purpure	purpres, purpras	2368, 5928	2368, 5928	Wyld, *MED* (OE<L)
purse	n	purse	porses	5927	(bæiȝes 'jewels')	Wyld, *MED* (OE<L)
put(te) < boter			putte, put	18092	18092, 30780–81	Luhmann, Böhnke, Monroe[32]
riche	adj	rich	riche	various	various (8092)[33]	Wyld, *MED* (OE & OF)
scamonie	n	scamonny	scamoine	17740	17740	Wyld, *MED* (L)
seinte	adj	saint	Seint, seinte, sceint, sæint, seit	various	various	*MED* (L)[34]
senate or sinod	n	senate, synod	senaht[35]	(Rome-lond)	25388	Madden, *MED* (L)[36]
senatour	n	senator	senaturs, senature	26904, 27114	26904, 27114	Wyld, *MED* (L)
serven	v 1	serve v 1	saruy, sareuy, sarui, saruede, seruuinge sereuunge	3959, 4855, etc.	(þeinen, heren, græiðen), 8097, 8114[37]	Madden, Wyld, MED (L)[38]
serven	v	serve v	i-sareued	24154	(iærned)	[39]

[32] Both Böhnke and Luhmann derive these forms from OF *boter* 'push, thrust' (*AND* **bouter**[2]) rather than seeing them as forms of **putten** (v), which in the *MED* has senses 'push, thrust' (1a). Their suggestion has not been followed and there seems no reason to do so. For the use at 18092, Madden's gloss is simply 'put', while at 30780 it is 'push'. Forms of **putten** identical to these uses are found elsewhere in the *Brut*.
[33] Luhmann suggests that this is an error for *rekels* 'incense', which has OE forms **recels, ricels**, to describe what is thrown into the fire when Brutus is in Diana's temple. The *MED* includes this line from the *Brut* in its entry for *rekels*, marked as error.
[34] The *OED* stresses the OF origin of the ME and MoE form, to which most of the forms in the *Brut* correspond.
[35] There is a form of this word from OF, *sené*; clearly here it is the more Latinate form.
[36] See etymological note at *MED* **senate**; the form could belong to either word.
[37] There is no equivalent line in Otho.
[38] Attested in OE (in Campbell's addenda to Bosworth-Toller) as **seruian**, spelling *seruedon*, 'to serve, minister to' in the *Twelfth-century Homilies in MS Bodley 343*, ed. by A. O. Belfour, EETS o.s. 137 (London: EETS, 1909 (repr. 1962)), p. 104.
[39] This verb is in part from OF *servir* 'to merit' but also a shortened form of **deserven** from both Latin and OF. The *MED* comments that this particular sense is often used in as-clauses, as it is in the *Brut*.

MED		***OED***	***Brut***	***Used in O***	***Used in C***	***Source of suggestion OF origin***
	2					
servise	n	service n 1	servise	8071, 8097	8071, (seruuinge)	[40]
shelle	n	shell	scele	5368		*MED* (OE)[41]
signe (5b 'banner')	n	sign n	seine	9282	(burne)	Madden, Wyld, *MED*[42]
somnen	v	summon v	sumnen, sommi, somnede	1633 etc.	424, 835, 1633, etc.	*MED*[43]
sot	n	sot n 1, adj	sot, sottes, sotten	(fol)	1442, etc.	Madden, *MED* (L, OE cf. OF)[44]
stalle	n	stall n 1	stal	1672	1672	*MED* (OE, L)[45]
sufferen	v	suffer	i-soffred, soffri	6268, 24854	(bidan)	Wyld (L)
tachen	v 1	tache v 2	tacheð		22004	*MED*[46]
talen 'speak, cry'	v	tale v	talie	various	various	Madden, *MED* (OE cf. OI; but cf. talien v < OF/ML 'tally' c15)
tevel '? die for gaming'	n	tavel n 1	tauel, tæuel	8134	8134	Madden, *MED* (OE tæfl < L tabula)
timpe	n	timp	timpe		7003	[47]

[40] Used in sense 9f, religious service, specifically to a heathen god.
[41] In this sense (5) influenced by OF *eschelle*, according to *MED*.
[42] The context is that of a Roman knight disguising himself to be able to kill the enemy king. *Burne* (*MED* **brinie**) remained in use, also in romances, so that Otho's choice here may be simply because he thought the pennant would be more logical as a ruse than the armour. The *OED* distinguishes two words, **senye** and **sign**, which the *MED* combines into one entry. **Senye** is derived from the OE adoption of Latin **signum**. The form in Otho, *seine*, clearly harks back to the OE form, as opposed to the French or Latin spelling used in *HS*. While an interesting difference, then, between C and O, it has little to do with French lexis. It is attested between 1200–1250, then from 1300. The verb is attested later.
[43] From several sources, including Latin and influenced by OE **samnian** (ME **samnen**). The *MED* includes them here. Under **samnen** it has forms in <*o*>, but not in <*u*>.
[44] The *OED* gives an etymology straight from OF with earliest attestations c. 1000; the *MED* points to OE and prompts a comparison to OF and ML. Further origins are unknown.
[45] Of the two quotations given by the *MED*, one concerns the French. The uses are both in a phrasal verb with *maken*/*wrohten*.
[46] This instance from the *Brut* forms the only attestation in this sense in the *MED*.

MED		***OED***	***Brut***	***Used in O***	***Used in C***	***Source of suggestion OF origin***
tombe	n	tomb	tumbe	6080	(tunne)	Madden, Wyld, *MED* (L)
tonne	n	tun n 1	tunne	various	various	*MED* (OE cf. OF, L)
tour	n 1	tower n 1	tour, ture	various	various	Wyld, *MED* (OE<L)
turnen	v	turn v	turnen	various	various	*MED* (OE, L)
urinal	n	urinal	vrinal	17724, 17727	(glæs-fat)	Wyld, *MED* (L)[48]
usen	v	use v	usi, vsede	10068, 24293	(spelien, feren)	
			Uært Escud, Vertescu [49]	2769	2769	
warde	n	ward n 1	warde		19402	*MED* (OE, L)[50]
warnen	v	warn v 1	warn	various	various	*MED* (OE, L?)[51]
wine	n 2	wine n 1	win, wine	various	various	*MED* (OE, L)[52]

[47] There is only one other attestation in the *MED*, a1300(c1250) (and none in the *OED*), but cf. **timpan** which is attested from OE.

[48] Burnley (*A Guide to Chaucer's Vocabulary*, pp. 143–44) discusses the use of this word in the *Canterbury Tales* where the Host 'knew how to parrot the technical terms of medicine', seeming 'to have known something of the meaning of some of them, yet he cannot use them competently' (156).

[49] This form is of definite French origin but was excluded because it occurs solely in a byname and as such probably did not register as a lexical item of French origin for the text's audiences. Names in general have been excluded from my study for this reason; this one is of sufficient interest to mention here. It is the name *Uært Escud* (the form in Caligula), *Vertescu* in Otho, for *Vert(-)escu* in Wace and Geoffrey (l. 1543 in Arnold). Occurring as a byname of a Brutus in a list of sons, it contains the OF elements **vert** 'green' and **escud** 'shield' (from Latin **scutum**). Its appearance then is not remarkable and it should probably not be considered French, as Bøgholm did, though bilinguals in the audience would have recognised it (N. Bøgholm, *The Layamon Texts: A Linguistical Investigation* (Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard, 1944), pp. 17–24). The spelling in Caligula corresponds to AF spellings. Arnold's edition records no such spelling in Wace, but he edited from a continental manuscript and there were many AF copies of the *Roman de Brut* (seventeen listed in Ruth Dean, *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts* (London, ANTS, 1999), pp. 2–3).

[50] Basically OE (Germanic) **weard**, this was influenced in some senses by OF *warde*, particularly in legal senses.

[51] This is an OE verb that was possibly influenced by Latin, OF and Old Irish; OF influence was particularly suggested for sense 7 'be on guard, defend', under which one use in the *Brut* is put.

[52] The spellings here are all OE in containing <*w*->.

Appendix 3: Attestations of the Vocabulary of French Origin in Laȝamon's *Brut*

This appendix presents the attestations of French-derived vocabulary in Laȝamon's *Brut*. The first two columns give the *MED* headword and the word class. If there are multiple *MED* headwords with the same spelling, the number assigned to the correct entry in the *MED* is also given, as in **chere** (n 1). The form as found in Laȝamon's *Brut* can be found in Appendix 1. Headwords in italics indicate words also found in *Kyng Alisaunder*, as included by the *MED*. Headwords in bold do the same for those in *Handlyng Synne*.

The columns labelled by time period indicate in binary whether the word is attested in at least one manuscript dated to that fifty-year period, with 1 for yes and 0 for no. An asterisk indicates that the word occurs in a text dated to that period which survives only in a later manuscript. Attestations for different senses within a lemma have all been included in the table, with consideration of any semantic development reserved for the main discussion or footnotes in Appendix 1. Attestations of variant words with separate entries (e.g. related noun, verb and adjective or aphetic forms) have not been added to the table, though I do look at their attestations and note down different patterns in footnotes in Appendix 1. For example, if a word is a noun, then its attestations have been compared to those of the related verb, adjective and/or adverb forms and any anomalies have been included in the notes. The reason for considering these is that the earlier currency in ME of a variant or related form would have facilitated the adoption of the word used in *LB*. For a full description of the method used, see 1.5.3.

In the *MED*, the Caligula *Brut* has the date indication 'c1275(?a1200)' and the Otho *Brut* 'c1300'. Hence, Caligula attestations are included in the period 1250–1299 and Otho's attestations in 1300–1350. 'Cal.' in the column 1250–1299 means the only attestation for the word is in Caligula, while 'Otho' indicates an attestation from Otho only. The letter B indicates a word is only attested as byname in that period. The column 'Mss' indicates in which manuscript, Caligula (C) and/or Otho (O), a word is used. The table given immediately below is ordered alphabetically by headword. It is followed by one with identical content but ordered alphabetically per manuscript, in order to give an overview of words of French origin per version of the text.

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**	**Mss**
abbeie	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
alasken	v	0	0	0	Otho	0	1	0	Otho
anoien	v	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
ariven	v	0	*	Cal.	1	1	1	1	O+C
arsoun	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
aspien	v	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
atir	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
baroun	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	OC
bitraien	v	0[1]	*	*	1	1	1	1	Otho
boune	n	0	0	Cal.	1	0	0	0	Cal.
cacchen	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
canoun	n	0[2]	*	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
catel	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
chapele	n	0	1	0[3]	1	1	1	1	Otho
chaungen	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
cheisil	n	0	0	*	1	0	1	0	Otho
chere	n 1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
chevetaine	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1	Otho
cloke	n 1	0	0	0[4]	Otho	1	1	1	Otho
contree	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1	Otho
coriun	n	0	0	Cal.	0	0	0	0	Cal.
crie	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1	Otho
delaie	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1	Otho
dolful	n 2	0	*	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
dousse-per	n	0	0	Cal.	1	1	1	1	O+C
dubben	v	0	*	Cal.	1	1	1	1	O+C
escapen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
essel	n	0	0	Cal.	Otho	0	0	0	O+C
estre	n	0	*	1	1	1	1	1	Cal.
failen	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
fel	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
fol	adj	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
fol	n	0	1[5]	*	1	1	1	1	Otho
folie	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
gile	n 3	*	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
ginne	n	B	1	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
gisarme	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1	Otho
gise	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
grace	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho

[1] The *DOE* records an interlinear gloss *be-tragan* of the second half of the twelfth century (in Aelfric's homilies).
[2] Attested in bynames from 1177.
[3] Attested as a byname in 1263.
[4] Attested in this period in a Latin document.
[5] In a gloss to an OE manuscript.

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**	**Mss**
graunten	v	0	*	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
halen	v	0	0	*	1	1	1	1	O+C
hardi	adj	B	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
heue	n 2	0	0	Cal	1	*	1	1	Cal.
honour	n	0	1	*	1	1	1	1	Otho
hostage	n 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
iginned	adj	0	1	0	Otho	0	0	0	Otho
image	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
latimer	n	B	B	Cal.	1	B	1	1	O+C
lof	n 4	0[6]	1	0[7]	*	*	1	1	O+C
male	n 2	0	0	*	1	1	1	1	O+C
manere	n 1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
marbre	n	1	B	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
masoun	n	B	B	Cal.	1	1	1	1	O+C
maumet	n	0	1	Cal.	1	1	1	1	Cal.
messager	n	B	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
mountaine	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
paien	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
park	n	0	0[8]	B	1	1	1	1	Otho
passen	v	0	1	*	1	1	1	1	Otho
pencel	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
pes	n	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
pesen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
postel	n	0	1	Cal.	0	1	1	1	Cal.
povre	adj	*	1	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
prive	adj 1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
proud	adj	*	1	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
rollen	v 2	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
route	n 1	0	1	*	1	1	1	1	Otho
sailen	v 1	0	0	Cal.	1	1	1	1	al.C
salteriun	n	0	0	Cal.	0	0	0	0	Cal.
scapen	v 1	0	*	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
scar	n	0	0	Cal.	0	0	0	0	Cal.
scarmuchen	v	0	0	0	Otho	1	*	1	Otho
scorn	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
scorninge	vn	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
seuen	v 1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
sire	n	0[9]	1	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
skirmen	v	0	1	1	*	1	1	1	Cal.
spiere	n	0	0	0	B	1	1	1	Otho

[6] Attested in a Latin document of 1172.
[7] Attested in this period in a Latin document.
[8] Attested in this period in a Latin document.
[9] Attested as a byname in 1199.

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**	**Mss**
storen	v	0	0	*	1	1	1	1	O+C
streit	adj	0	0	Cal.	1	1	1	1	Cal.
strife	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
striven	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
strivinge	vn	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
tresour	n	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
treuage	n	0	*	*	1	1	1	1	Otho
Trinite	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	Cal.
waiten	v	0	1	B	1	1	1	1	Otho
waste[10]	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	O+C
wasten	v	B	1	B	1	1	1	1	O+C
werre	n	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
werren, werreien[11]	v	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	O+C

The following table presents the same data as the previous one, but sorted as follows: in alphabetical order, the words a) that are found only in Caligula, b) found only in Otho, and c) found in both texts. For key to conventions see the introduction to this appendix.

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**	**Mss**
boune	n	0	0	Cal.	1	0	0	0	Cal.
coriun	n	0	0	Cal.	0	0	0	0	Cal.
estre	n	0	*	1	1	1	1	1	Cal.
heue	n 2	0	0	Cal.	1	*	1	1	Cal.
maumet	n	0	1	Cal.	1	1	1	1	Cal.
postel	n	0	1	Cal.	0	1	1	1	Cal.
sailen	v 1	0	0	Cal.	1	1	1	1	Cal.
salteriun	n	0	0	Cal.	0	0	0	0	Cal.
scar	n	0	0	Cal.	0	0	0	0	Cal.
skirmen	v	0	1	1	*	1	1	1	Cal.
streit	adj	0	0	Cal.	1	1	1	1	Cal.
Trinite	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	Cal.
abbeie	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
alasken	v	0	0	0	Otho	0	1	0	Otho
anoien	v	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
arsoun	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
aspien	v	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
atir	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	Otho

[10] The noun **waste** (n 1) is attested once in the first half of the thirteenth century.
[11] The *MED* notes that based on spelling quotations have been distributed between these two verbs, but that this does not solve the confusion between the two. I have here collocated the attestations: the only difference was the single attestation for **werreien** for 1160, where **werren** is not attested in that period.

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**	**Mss**
beste	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
bitraien	v	0[12]	*	*	1	1	1	1	Otho
catel	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
chapele	n	0	1	0[13]	1	1	1	1	Otho
chaungen	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
cheisil	n	0	0	*	1	0	1	0	Otho
chere	n 1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
chevetaine	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1	Otho
cloke	n 1	0	0	0[14]	Otho	1	1	1	Otho
contree	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1	Otho
crie	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1	Otho
delaie	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1	Otho
dolful	n 2	0	*	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
escapen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
failen	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
fel	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
fol	adj	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
fol	n	0	1[15]	*	1	1	1	1	Otho
folie	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
gile	n 3	*	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
gisarme	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1	Otho
gise	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
grace	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
graunten	v	0	*	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
hardi	adj	B	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
honour	n	0	1	*	1	1	1	1	Otho
hostage	n 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
iginned	adj	0	1	0	Otho	0	0	0	Otho
image	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
marbre	n	1	B	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
messager	n	B	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
paien	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
park	n	0	0[16]	B	1	1	1	1	Otho
passen	v	0	1	*	1	1	1	1	Otho
pencel	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
pes	n	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
pesen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
prive	adj 1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
rollen	v 2	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	Otho

[12] The *DOE* records an interlinear gloss *be-tragan* of the second half of the twelfth century (in Aelfric's homilies).
[13] Attested as a byname in 1263.
[14] Attested in this period in a Latin document.
[15] In a gloss to an OE manuscript.
[16] Attested in this period in a Latin document.

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**	**Mss**
route	n 1	0	1	*	1	1	1	1	Otho
scapen	v 1	0	*	0	1	1	1	1	Otho
scarmuchen	v	0	0	0	Otho	1	*	1	Otho
seuen	v 1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
spiere	n	0	0	0	B	1	1	1	Otho
strife	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
tresour	n	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Otho
treuage	n	0	*	*	1	1	1	1	Otho
waiten	v	0	1	B	1	1	1	1	Otho
ariven	v	0	*	Cal.	1	1	1	1	O+C
baroun	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
cacchen	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
canoun	n	0[17]	*	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
dousse-per	n	0	0	Cal.	1	1	1	1	O+C
dubben	v	0	*	Cal.	1	1	1	1	O+C
essel	n	0	0	Cal.	Otho	0	0	0	O+C
ginne	n	B	1	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
halen	v	0	0	*	1	1	1	1	O+C
latimer	n	B	B	Cal.	1	B	1	1	O+C
lof	n 4	0[18]	1	0[19]	*	*	1	1	O+C
male	n 2	0	0	*	1	1	1	1	O+C
manere	n 1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
masoun	n	B	B	Cal.	1	1	1	1	O+C
mountaine	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
povre	adj	*	1	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
proud	adj	*	1	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
scorn	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
scorninge	vn	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
sire	n	0[20]	1	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
storen	v	0	0	*	1	1	1	1	O+C
striven	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
strivinge	vn	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
waste[21]	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	O+C
wasten	v	B	1	B	1	1	1	1	O+C
werre	n	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	O+C
werren, werreien[22]	v	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	O+C

[17] Attested in bynames from 1177.
[18] Attested in a Latin document of 1172.
[19] Attested in this period in a Latin document.
[20] Attested as a byname in 1199.
[21] The noun **waste** (n 1) is attested once in the first half of the thirteenth century.
[22] The *MED* notes that based on spelling quotations have been distributed between these two verbs, but that this does not solve the confusion between the two. I have here collocated the attestations: the only difference was the single attestation for **werreien** for 1160, where **werren** is not attested in that period.

Appendix 4: Rhyming Tags in *Kyng Alisaunder* and Other Texts

This appendix presents information on rhyme tags in a selection of ME texts, as explained in 3.2. The information is based, for *Kyng Alisaunder* and the shorter texts, on a reading of the text; longer ones such as *Of Arthour and Merlin* were merely scanned for tags. As it is, the numbers give an impression of the relative frequencies of occurrence. For *KA*, Smithers' edition was used. *King Richard*, *The Seven Sages of Rome* and *Of Arthour and Merlin* survive more or less intact in Auchinleck; the count here is based on the editions in *The Auchinleck Manuscript*, online edition. The numbers for *Havelok* and *The Sege of Melayne* are based on *Middle English Romances*, ed. by Stephen H. A. Shepherd (New York and London: Norton, 1995). Each tag is followed either by the line number from Smithers or the online edition or by a frequency count. An asterisk following a *KA* line number indicates it occurs in direct or reported speech.

Kyng Alisaunder
100 instances of minor French fillers in 8021 lines (once every 80 lines); 24 Anglicised versions of these; many other regular English fillers (70+).

saun faile 591*, 989, 1012, 1230, 1538, 1544, 1780, 1913, 2121, 2136, 2145, 2205, 2318, 2575, 3115, 3373*, 3565, 3605, 3624, 4311, 4513*, 4643, 4701, 4839, 4878, 4885, 5180, 5303, 5502*, 5543, 5585, 6045, 6130*, 6213, 6547, 6682*, 7010*, 7090

saunz doute 1756*, 3591, 3842, 3856, 3964, 7139
saunz dotaunces 2325, 6760*
wiþouten doute 2321, 4660, 5230, 6479
wiþoute doutaunce 5909, 6316

saun fable(s) 134, 778, 1081, 4211*, 4321, 7242*
wiþouten fable 4167

saunz demurraunce 4116*
saunz retours 601*
wiþouten socoure 2472
wiþoute(n) assoigne 1019, 3197, 4507*, 6040, 7778, 7982
wiþouten lees 5781
wiþoute pite 1599*, 1858*, 5700, 7546
wiþouten any pyte 5887
wiþouten noo 6026

wiþouten bost 4946

par ma fey 5000, 5087, 5389, 5410, 5900, 6244, 6398, 6673
par(-)fay 6748*, 6947*
in gode fey 6888*; in grete feye 6942

par amoure 1707, 2974, 4500*, 6677*, 7668*
for myne amour 7942*

par maistrie 4531*
wiþ maistrie 5323

par force 2529, 2832, 4568*, 5510*, 7294*[1]
par charite 5210*
parde 5559
par auenture 7005*

verrayment 716, 1344, 1477, 1504, 3665, 4344, 4371, 4857, 4936, 4997, 5367, 5489, 5614, 5641, 6166, 6386, 6409, 6425, 6476, 7470
veir 999, 1140*, 5667 (in veire 5670)

cert(es) e.g. 5494*, 5794, 6401, 6504, 6534, 6769*, 6795, 6848*, 7000*

als J fynde 3684, 4308, 4807, 4815, 4984, 5091, 5104, 5358, 5467, 5561, 5681, 5792, 6011, 6176, 6513

iwis 50+ times, e.g. 1224, 3963, 5945

King Richard
11 instances of minor French in 1045 lines (10 line fillers, 1 call to arms); 4 times an Anglicised filler is used. A French tag is used once every 105 lines.

saunfeyl 245, 772, 851, 856, 896, 926, 930
wiþouten feyl 276, 416, 504, 528

verrament 340, 745, 863
as armes 562

The Seven Sages of Rome
26 instances of fillers in 2770 lines (plus some French phrases not noted here), and 7 Anglicised equivalents (a French filler once every 107 lines).

saun fail 744, 800, 825, 1239, 1611, 2002, 2368, 2579
wiþouten fail 1665, 1985, 2768

saun dout 1975, 2097

[1] The form in Laud is 'by force', while Auchinleck and Lincoln's Inn both have 'par'. Because for the full text the count has to be based on Laud, not Auchinleck, this use has been left out.

wiþouten dout 770, 2741, 2614

wiþouten fable 1548

par fai 1520, 1663, 1933
par ma fai 284, 367, 376, 1738
par nostre fai 212

par amour 1445, 1477
par force 474

verraiment 1163, 2297, 2529, 2638, 2643

Of Arthour and Merlin
201 French fillers in 9763 lines (plus some actual phrases, see chapter 1) (once every 49 lines)

saun faile 53x wiþouten fail 6x

saun fable 4x wiþouten fable 6x

saun doute
wiþouten doute 12x

saun pite
wiþouten pite 3x; ~ assoine 140, 4351; ~ les 729; ~ tale 1734; ~ no 2179, 3772, 5164, 2592; ~ lesing 2682, 2704, 3617pl, 3712pl, 6969, 8064

par fay 2x
par ma fay 19x

par amour 8x
par fors 3x
par de
par aventour
par seynt charite (italicised in online edition)

as armes

verrament 54x
verray 2x
verramens

Appendix 5: Rare Vocabulary in *Kyng Alisaunder*

This appendix presents the rare vocabulary in *Kyng Alisaunder* selected for study in 3.3, according to the method specified there. The headword here is the glossary form found in Smithers, followed by the line number, if relevant the full line in which it occurs including variants from the Lincoln's Inn (L), Auchinleck (A) or *Bagford Ballad* (M) manuscripts, and relevant information from the *MED*, *OED*, *AND* and other French dictionaries. Lastly, it is indicated whether the *Roman de toute chevalerie* (*RTC*) features the word and any related form, and a summary analysis is given of possible explanations for the word's appearance in *KA* and the extent to which it will have been foreign in Middle English.

abet (3531 'Þorouȝ þabet of her spye')

Smithers: 'assistance'.

MED: **abet(te** (n) [OF **abet** & ML **abettum** (from OF).] 'Incitement to evil; urging.' 1330 (*Adam and Eve*, Auchinleck); a. 1333 (Shoreham); ca.1385 (Chaucer).

OED: **abet** (n) '1. Fraud, cunning, wiles; 2. Instigation, aid, encouragement, abetment.' *c.* 1315 (Shoreham); c1374 (Chaucer); 1460 (Pol. Rel. & Love Poems); 1596 (Spenser).

AND: **abet**[1] records this use.

RTC: not found.

The form is not attested before *KA* and only rarely afterwards. The related verb is not attested before 1380 (*Firumbras*). The noun remained so rare as to become obsolete, but the verb gained currency from the Early Modern period on; the gap indicates, however, that there is not likely to have been continuity.

acost (2140, 2439, 3013, 3450, 3461, 3569, 4088, 4945, 6017, 6475)[1]

Smithers: 'alongside, near'.

MED: **acost** (adv) [OF phrase **a coste**] 'Along or at the side, alongside, nearby.' c1330 (?a1300) 2x (Arthour and Merlin); c1400(?a1300) (*KA*); a1425 (*KA*); c1425(c1400) 2x (*Laud Troy Book*).

OED: 'On or by the side; beside; aside; at one side.' *c.*1300 (*KA*); *c.* 1330 (Arthour and Merlin).

AND: **coste**[1] records this use.

RTC: not in glossary; **encoste** found in concordance.

Modelled directly on an (Anglo-)French idiom, the word is clearly rare, is recorded for the first time in *KA* and Auchinleck, and only rarely afterwards in ME, becoming obsolete afterwards. The large number of uses within *KA* suggests it was a normal part of the author's vocabulary. However, it almost always rhymes with **hoste** (n 1) 'army', suggesting a limited context of use

[1] Smithers distinguishes between adverbial and prepositional uses, putting separately the use in a phrase 'Anoþer folk þere is acost' (4945), glossed 'next to that spot'. The prepositional uses all follow the noun.

and hence limited integration in ME. The exceptions are the geographical reference *Oste* (3013) and the rhyme tag *wiþouten bost* (4945).

ades (7214 ‘Kyng Alisaunder knew ades’ [L: ‘Kyng A. knowe wolde’])
Smithers: ‘immediately’.
MED/OED/AND: not recorded, though three citations contain the word in *AND*.
Godefroy: **ades** (adv) ‘aussitôt, sans interruption, sans cesse, toujours’.
RTC: not found.
Most likely the word was never current in ME, although it was used in AF, and the author of *KA* imported it spontaneously into English from his knowledge of French. The alternate reading in the Lincoln’s Inn MS suggests that the word may have been considered too foreign by the redactor.

afetement (662 ‘Maistres [...] him techeþ [...] afetement of halle’ [L: ‘to afeyte men in halle’])
Smithers: ‘correct behaviour’.
MED: **afetement (**n) [OF afait(i)ement] (b) ‘proper conduct, manners’; only *KA*.
Cf. (a) ‘form or nature of something’, *Femina* c1400.
OED: **afaitement** (n).
AND: **afaitement**[1] (n 3) ‘(good) manners’.
RTC: not in glossary or concordance search.
FEW ***affectare**, *TL*/*GD*/*DMF* **afaitement**, sense (C2) ‘Ensemble de qualités et de bonnes manières, résultant d'une bonne éducation’, quoted in this sense from e.g. Wace, *Lai d’Havelok*.
Other use in ME is in a clearly different sense, also if the related verb (*MED* **afaiten**) is considered. The sense under which the Lincoln’s Inn use of the verb is quoted, (2b) ‘control, govern, direct’, is possible in the context but clearly different from that in Laud. The change may reflect the unfamiliarity of this use of the noun.

al (291 ‘Þe sonne he shewed in hir al’)
Smithers: ‘course, line of movement’ [OF. *ale* n. < *aler* v. to go].
MED/OED: not recorded.
AND: **alee**[1] (n) recorded in this sense.
RTC: not in glossary or concordance search.
The short form suggests some distance from French usage, but the complete lack of other attestations points to the word’s French nature.

alan (3191 ‘Þat ȝe slouȝ in ȝoure alan’ [L: ‘in ȝoure hauen’])
Smithers: ‘impetuousness’ [AN. **alan*, OF. *eslan* rush; ardour].
MED: no entry.
OED: only post-medieval **élan** (n).
AND: no record for *alan*/*eslan*, but we do find **eslancement** (n) ‘haste, impetuosity’.
Godefroy: ‘en eslan’.
RTC: not in glossary.
The word’s unique appearance in ME suggests it was taken directly from French. Again L replaces the French element. The unattested supposed AF

source for the form (*alan*) illustrates the problematic evidence of the surviving material. This is also clear from the lack of attestations for *eslan* before 1400 in any French dictionary, while **eslancement** does appear. The scene in which it appears is a writ sent by Alisaunder to the lords of Athens and read out to them, a formal context that might have prompted the use of a French term (cf. the use of French in formal correspondence and proclamations in fourteenth-century towns noted in Richard Britnell, 'Uses of French Language in Medieval English Towns,' in Wogan-Browne, ed., *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*, pp. 81–89). It is in rhyming position, matched with *aȝan* in the following line, which may have suggested this particular unusual form.

amere (4420 'Wiþ swerd Rodyn he dude amere' [L: 'gan him beore'])

Smithers: v. 'cause bodily injury to'.

MED: **amer** (adj as n) [OF amer 'bitter', faire amer] **don** ~ 'deal bitter blows'. Attested only in *KA*.

OED: **amere** (n).

AND: **amer**^{2} (n) 'bitterness'.

RTC: not in glossary or concordance search

AFW **amer**^{2}; *FEW* **amarus** records a use in OF and MF 'cruel, dur (d'une bataille, de la guerre, de la mort, etc.)', attested e.g. in Gaimar. There is a verb **amérir** 'devenir amer'.

The word class of the English use remains unclear; the verb is clearly less common and not recorded in the specific sense used here, so that the reading of adjective as noun may be more likely. Related words in English are also rare and late (**amereli** (adv) attested once c1450). Interesting to note is the formal correspondence to **amerren** (v) 'destroy', attested in a spelling with single <*r*> in *Seven Sages*. We cannot state that the change in L must be due to the word's unfamiliarity, given that version's editing programme (see Horobin and Wiggins), but it is likely. The similarity of the phrase in *KA*, with *dude*, to the French phrase *faire amer*, and the lack of other attestations suggest the word was not integrated in ME and appears here from the author's knowledge of French.

antecessoures (4512 'Alle þat hadden myne antecessoures' [L: 'myn autours'])

Smithers: 'forbears'.

MED: **antecessour** (n) b. 'a forebear or ancestor' [L.]; earliest attestation *KA* c1400(?a1300); a gap of a century before c1425(c1400) (*Laud Troy Book*), followed by c1436, 1459 and 1475. Related sense 'predecessor' is first attested in a1425(a1400). Etymology is given as from Latin. The word is not as common as the related form from OF, **auncestre** (n), which occurs regularly from c1300. The use of **autour** (n) in this sense (1.b.) is found only in one other source, from 1398.

OED: no attestations before 1425. Etymology from Latin via Middle French.

AND: records both forms, although the sense for *antecessour* is restricted to 'predecessor' (the citations appear ambiguous).

RTC: **ancessur** (3595)

Although the *MED* gives Latin as the source for this particular form, the influence of French on the whole group makes that origin as possible. The

preference for the Latinate form might be the author's fondness for curious words playing up. It is likely to have been a relatively new form.

aprise (3524 'For Alisaunders gret aprise' [line missing L])

Smithers: 'undertaking'.

MED: **apprise** (n 1) 'An undertaking, a deed; esp., a warlike enterprise, a feat of arms, an exploit'. Related to *emprise* from OF *enprise*, 'undertaking'. This form is attested first (apart from *KA*) in c1350(a1333) in Shoreham's *Poems*, then not until c1410 (Lovelich). *Emprise* in its various senses is not attested before 1325 and Auchinleck.

OED: this sense not recorded (only 'learning', first attested 1303).

AND: **emprise** (n), in the sense 'undertaking, enterprise', with variant spelling **aprise**; cf. **aprise** (n).

RTC: **enprendre** (v) used twice (3281, 3293) in distinct senses.

The word here seems more likely to have been taken from AF than a pre-existing English use. The verb in the *RTC* may have been a prompt.

arbre sek (6755 'trewes two [...] arbre sek men done hem calle' [L 'Arbeset'])

Smithers: not in glossary; see lengthy note to line on the tradition of the idea and term.

MED: **arbre-sek** (n) 'A fabulous tree [see context]', attested only in *KA*.

OED: not recorded.

AND: not recorded in this combination.

RTC: not in glossary or relevant passage (see note Smithers).

DMF: **arbre** (4 'arbre sec') 'P. allus. à la légende chrétienne de l'arbre sec: arbre d'Égypte qui, toujours vert et plein de feuilles depuis le commencement du monde, devint sec à la mort de Jésus-Christ sur la croix. Dans les récits de voyage des XIVe et XVe s., nom de lieu désignant la limite orientale entre pays chrétiens et pays musulmans; p. ext., endroit lointain.'

The *RTC* describes them as the trees of sun and moon (cf. *DMF* **arbre** (5) '[P. allus. à la légende d'Alexandre le Grand] Arbres du soleil et de la lune. "Arbres oraculaires et sacrés dont les fruits mangés par les prêtres procurent une longévité de 300 ans"). The use of *arbre sek* reveals the *KA* author's knowledge of other Alexander texts (see Stone, 'Many man he shal do woo,' fn. 33). This tradition, also described in Smithers' note, may imply that the term was not as unknown in medieval Britain as its isolated use in ME suggests. In any case we are dealing with a very specific and limited context of occurrence, and from a linguistic perspective the form is not at all integrated in ME. Some thirteenth-century OF texts using the term, either like this or reversed as *sec arbre*, are the *Roman du comte de Poitiers*, *Huon de Bordeaux*, and *Le Devisement du Monde*.

asperaunt (4862 'And haue horses […] asperaunt')

Smithers: 'mettlesome' [on OF. *aspre*].

MED: **asperaunt** (adj) 'Spirited, bold.' [OF ppl.], only attestation in *KA*; cf. **aspre** (adj) 'harsh', attested in Mannyng's *Story of England* c1338 and from the 1350s, **aspreli** (adv) in the Auchinleck *Guy*, Mannyng, and from 1380, and **asprete** (n), glossing *asperitas* in the *Ancrene Wisse*.

OED: no record.

AND: no record except **aspre** (n).
RTC: not in glossary; cf. **aspre**, **asprement**.
FEW **asper** sense 9 (a) 'ardent, fougueux (d'un cheval)'; attestations c13–c15; no derivative form as in *KA* recorded.

It is, then, either a new formation by an author being creative with the language or a word that has simply not been recorded at all elsewhere. In the first case, it shows a morphological formation based in French rather than English. This may have been prompted by the need for a rhyme. Medieval authors could conveniently add suffixes to that purpose, possibly but not necessarily creating new forms. A modern insistence on exact dictionary attestations creates an impression of rarity when it is merely a flexible use of morphology that was perfectly natural. The existence of a present participle may be assumed if the verb is attested. This explains the formation of **asperaunt** as French word; within ME, with this sense of **aspre** otherwise completely unknown, it will have been unusual. It may also be that an AF form of **esperer** 'to hope' of the type *asperer* (cf. *AND* *aspeirer* under **esperer**) was influenced by **aspirer** 'to inspire', which developed senses of the kind 'strive to succeed'. ME **aspiren** includes this sense but is only attested after 1400.

astaunchеþ (4475 'Alisaunder wel many astaunchеþ' [L: 'schenchеþ'])
Smithers: 'brings to a stop'; see note to line.
MED: **astaunchen** (v) "To restrain (anger); to satisfy (sexual desire)" [AF; cp. OF estanchier]. The use in *KA* is not quoted; the two attestations are for *Firumbras* (c. 1380) and *A Philosophre* (c. 1475). But cf. the aphetic form **staunchen** (v), with many attestations and similar senses.
OED: **astaunch** (v) "To staunch, satisfy", curiously only quotes a Lydgate minor poem (c. 1430).
AND: **estancher** (v) "staunch, stop".
RTC: Cf. **estancher** 'fall exhausted' (2014), 'stop' (3938).

Given the attestations for the aphetic form, this verb really cannot be considered very foreign. The form in *KA* is closer to the French form than the usual ME forms. However, as Smithers notes, the sense employed in *KA* is clearly different from other ME uses.

astore (7903, 5808 [L: 'restore'; A: 'astore'])
Smithers: 'stock yourself'; 'make good'.
MED: The two uses seem to be of different senses: l. 5808 'Hem of vitaile to astore' falls under **astoren** (v) 1.(b) 'provide (oneself) with supplies', whereas 7903 'ȝour harmes for to astore' is actually cited under 2.(b) 'redress (a wrong)'. The first sense is not attested before 1300 (several times in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle and once in *King Richard*), but the second occurs in *Vices and Virtues* of a1225(c1200). The exact use of 7903 is not attested anywhere else, apparently; as such it need not be related directly to the early attestation. The gap can either be an actual gap, in which the word was not used in English, or merely accidental, while the meaning developed. The next attestations are in 1450, when again the meaning is different.

OED: Gives two main senses, 'repair, restore, mend' and 'furnish, provide, fit out, store' [OF estorer 'construct, repair, restore, furnish' < La.] with citations from 1297, 1300, 1340, 1440 and 1530.
AND: **estorer** and **restorer** for both senses.
RTC: **estoré** "well-endowed" (1838, 6658).

This word history exemplifies the difficulties of this kind of data. The early attestation shows it saw earlier use while otherwise we would probably call it new in *KA*. Just one such attestation survives and could easily have gone missing. It also reminds us that there are earlier texts, even if they are fewer. Still, semantic development between that use and the one in *KA* could indicate renewed borrowing. The occurrence in the *RTC* may have facilitated renewed use if the term had fallen out of use.

aveyse (5252 'Þe kyng and his meigne | Gladdest weren and aveyse')

Smithers: 'in a merry mood' [AN. **aveisé* (OF. *envoisié*)].
MED: **avise** (adj) 'Well-advised, discreet, prudent.' [OF ppl. **avisé**]; relatively steady stream of occurrences starting with *KA*. The verb (**avisen**) also is not attested before 1300, but becomes common, especially from the later fourteenth century. None of the other related words occurs before c1325.
OED: gives few medieval occurrences for advised ppl/a, starting 1325 and more for advise v. from 1297.
AND: **enveiser**[1] (includes forms **aveiser**, **aveser**).
RTC: **envoiser** (adj) 'gay' (3373), (v) 'amuse, enjoy oneself' (1333), **envoisure** (n) 'happiness, jest' (19, 422, etc.).

The meaning suggested by Smithers clearly diverges from that in the *MED*, which does cite this occurrence. Similar forms in the *RTC* support Smithers' suggestion. More likely than the *MED*'s allocation of the use to 'well-advised' is an otherwise unattested adjective derived from French.

avetrolle (2689 'Þou auetrolle!')

Smithers: 'bastard' [OF *auoltre*].
MED: **avetrol** (n), attested in *Seven Sages* and *KA* only. **Avouter** (n) is used in *HS*, then afer 1350; **avoutrie** (n) is also in *HS*, followed by a late c14 text.
OED: **avetrol** (n); 'formation obscure: compare OF **awotron** "enfant adulterin" (Godefroy), and *avoltre* < Latin *adulterum*'.
AND: **avuiltre** (n) lists no forms in <*avet-*>, nor does Godefroy.
FEW: under the meaning 'bastard child' a Wallonic form *auwetron* is noted for 1383, that was borrowed into Flemish as **avetronk** (see the entry and discussion in the *Middelnerderlandsch woordenboek*).
RTC: only **avoutre** (n) (1868, C135).

Smithers refers to this word as one of the 'philologically idiosyncratic modifications of French words' in *KA*. There are no French forms ending in <*ol*> and this may simply have been an error for an ending <*on*> or <*os*>. Influence of ME (<ON) **trol** (n) is doubtful; it is attested only in a byname of 1212 (then again after 1350) and used in Mannyng's chronicle. Since Smithers argues for a Dutch lexical influence on the *KA* author (next to the French element), and the Walloon/Flemish forms are the only extant examples in <*avet-*> and match the meaning of the ME uses, that connection may provide the most likely explanation of the form.

bray (2171 ‘So gret bray, so gret crieyng’)

Smithers: ‘outcry’.

MED: **brai** (n 1) [OF brait] ‘An outcry, a shriek.’ Not attested before *KA*; next twice a1500(c1450) (*Merlin*). The verb **braien** (v 1) [OF braire] is more common, but also not attested before c1303, followed by 1340, etc.

OED: *KA*, *Merlin* as in *MED*.

AND: **brai**[2] ‘cry, din’.

RTC: **braire (**v) ‘shout’ (3522).

The gap of 150 years between the two recorded uses suggests independent formation between *KA* and *Merlin*. The English verb was around by the time of *KA*, so that it may have been formed from that; alternatively the occurrence of the French verb in the *RTC* may have provided the incentive.

butumey(s) (4754, 6179, 6205 ‘clay | Þat men clepiþ butumay’, 6245)

Smithers: ‘pitch’.

MED: **butumei** (n) [OF betumei, butemei] ‘Asphalt, bitumen; a mortar containing asphalt’; only found in *KA*. Cf., each with a single attestation, **bitumen** (n) ‘A kind of mineral pitch’ (*Capgrave’s Chronicle* a1464) and **betumques** (n) ‘A bituminous mineral’ (*Peterborough Lapidary* a1500).

OED: **botemay** (n); notes this form is based on an AF variant in *but-* of CF forms in *bet-*.

AND: **betumei** (n) (1) ‘pitch, bitumen’.

RTC: **butemay** (6557 and 7 others).

FEW **bitumen**, DMF/GD/TLF **beton/betun/béton**; as the headwords show the regular form was of the type *beton*. Examples for the type *betumei* in *FEW* are in a different sense.

The rareness of the word and its relations in surviving ME texts may be due to its technical nature. Nevertheless it is clearly of a rare type, even in OF, where *betun* is the regular type (see note Smithers). The use in *KA* is likely to have been prompted by the form in *RTC* and will have been a form that had not been integrated in ME at all. The second use in *KA* contains ‘Þat men clepiþ’, which could signal unfamiliarity, but notably not the first.

caynars (6052 ‘He shipped his folk in grete caynars’ [L: ‘in shipes caynars’; M: ‘in that stounde’])

Smithers: ‘ships’ [OF canard, pl. canarz].

MED: **canar** (n) [OF canart, pl. canars.] ‘A kind of ship’; only *KA*.

OED: not recorded.

AND: **kenard** (n) ‘Norse warship’ (quotations only from Gaimar and *RTC*).

RTC: **eskarnard, karnarz** (61, 6062, 6120).

FEW **knarri** ‘art Schiff’ (with the AF form taken from ON), Godefroy **canart** ‘grande embarcation’ (a range of quotations including Orderic Vitalis), rest not recorded; *FEW* mentions that OE *cnear* (two quotations in the *DOE*) does not seem to have had any influence on the AF form.

An AF word prompted by the use in the *RTC*, this is unlikely to have been integrated in ME. This impression is supported by the changes in L and M. There is no trace of the OE word in ME. The form in *RTC* is somewhat unusual, as Foster notes for line 6120, but *KA* gives the more usual form,

thus showing an independent knowledge of the word. The term seems to have been relatively widely known in French, judging by the range of attestations.

choger (7763 ‘Þo þe table was ydrawe | Þe wayte gan a choger blawe’ [L: ‘apipe’; A: ‘aflegel’])

Smithers: (in phrase *a choger*) ‘to bed’ [AN a, *choger (OF coucher)]; for discussion of the oddity of this form of *cocher* see the note to the line.
MED: no entry.
OED: not recorded.
AND: **coucher** (v) 3. ‘to go to bed’ (cf. the similar context in quotation ‘Quant il fud ure de coucher’, *La Vie de saint Gilles* 605).
RTC: **cocher** (n) ‘signal for soldiers to sleep’ (5090, ‘fu li cocher criez’; cf. 5089 ‘Un poy vous cochez!’).

Smithers’ description of this as a ‘striking example’ and a ‘rare AN. phrase’ that ‘baffled’ the scribes of other manuscripts (in his note to line 7763) is clearly accurate. More examples of AF spellings similar to this are now recorded in the *AND* than were available to him, though not the exact form *choger*. A very similar use is found in the *RTC*, in a different passage shortly before that in which it occurs in *KA*. This likely prompted the use, which the poet could however deploy independently, in different form and to different effect. The actual form in *KA* is quite peculiar, involving confusion of unvoiced and voiced consonants and alternation between /k/ and /tʃ/. The spelling variants in the *AND* do not include this exact form, though forms with initial <*ch*> are found. There is only one text with forms with a medial <*g*>, the *Life of Saint Paul the Hermit* of c1300. The unusual form may have contributed to the form’s disappearance in the other versions of *KA* along with the confusion of *a* for the indefinite article rather than preposition.

coile (2133 ‘Bigynneþ ȝoure foomen coile’ [L: ‘taile’]; 2682 ‘Þre þousande kniȝttes [...] Ycoiled alle for þe nones’)

Smithers: ‘attack’ [OF. **acoillier**, **cueillir**], ‘a sense not otherwise recorded in English, but not uncommon in OF. epics’.
MED: **coilen** (v) [OF coillier < La colligere] ‘To select or choose (sb. or sth.) for excellence’; a1250 (*Ancrene Wisse*); *KA* l. 2682; a1338, c1399, a1420, etc. In sense 2.(b) another MS of *AW* from c1230(?a1200). In surnames from 1317.
OED: records 1330, 1399, 1430, 1530 (under both **cull** (v 1) and **coil** (v 1)).
AND: **acuillir** (v) and **coillir** (v) are each attested in both usual senses of ‘choose’ and ‘attack’.
RTC: **acoillir**, **acollir** “attack” (1175, 1192, 2693, 3614, 3671).

The use in 2133 is a separate sense not recorded by the *MED*. On the whole this word, though not common, has a history before *KA*, albeit a likely discontinuous one. Fifty years between attestations can point to either rare but continuous use or repeated introduction of the word. The unique use of the meaning ‘attack’ points to a word at least foreign in meaning. Its repeated use in this sense at other points in the *RTC* may have prompted the semantic borrowing; the variant form without <*a*-> is likely to have come from the author’s wider knowledge of the language.

colee (813 ‘And ȝaf hym þe colee ariȝth’ [L: ‘tole’])

Smithers: ‘accolade’.

MED: **colee** (n) [OF] ‘A stroke with the flat of the sword given in dubbing a knight’; only two other attestations c1450/a1500.

OED: **colee** (n); lists an additional attestation 1487(a1380).

AND: **colee** (n) ‘blow, slap, pat’ (this specific sense not given).

RTC: **colee** (621, 5156) ‘blow’.

FEW **collum**, *TL*/*GD*/*DMF* **colee (**B) ‘En partic. dans la cérémonie de l’adoubement “Coup d’épée donné sur le cou, sur l’épaule du nouveau chevalier”’; quotations in this sense not insular.

There are no indications that this word would have been integrated in ME. The apparent lack of attestations for this subsense in insular sources is notable, but may be a default of the records. The use in *RTC* also is in the sense ‘blow’, unlike *KA*, though in line 621 it might be seen as ironically referring to the blow as a (negative) reward.

curreye (5109 ‘þe kynges curreye, Þat lasteþ twenty mylen weye’)

Smithers: ‘military equipage’.

MED: no entry.

OED: not recorded.

AND: **conrai** (n) (3) ‘company, body of troops’ and (8) ‘equipment, accoutrement’.

RTC: **conrey** ‘body of troops’ (1729, 1845, 2629) ; cf. **conreier** ‘equip’ (3 uses) and **prendre conrey de** ‘attend to’ (1440).

DMF/GD/AFW **conroi** (A) ‘Équipement, dispositif, en partic. équipement, dispositif militaire’ and ‘Cortège, escorte, train, suite’.

The term seems to have been taken from AF, unsupported by earlier use or related forms. It may have been prompted by the use in *RTC*, but is used at a different point and in a different phrase. The assimilation of <*nr*> to <*rr*> is typical for Northern and Northwestern dialects of OF.

derenge (2530 ‘duden bestes from oþere derenge’ [L: ‘þrynge’])

Smithers: ‘break formation’ (see note to line).

MED: **disrengen** (v) [OF desrengier break ranks, etc.] ‘to start out’. *KA* is not quoted here (though the line is quoted in the entry *par force*); 2 attestations, c1410 and c1450. Cf. **rengen** (v), with many attestations (though not in all senses).

OED: **disrange** (v) (no uses quoted before Caxton).

AND: **desrenger** (v) ‘to (force to) break ranks’.

RTC: **desrenger** (1835, 2041, 2939).

Smithers indicates this was taken directly from *RTC* (2041). Given the likely familiarity of **rengen** and of *de-*/*dis-* as negative prefix, this use will not have been very problematic if it was unknown to a reader (although the L redactor disagreed). Nevertheless, the use in the *RTC* and the predominance of those quotations in the *AND* entry suggest it was an unusual form.

distincted (2195 ‘Þis bataile distincted is’)

Smithers: ‘? set apart’.

MED: **distincten** (v) ‘distinguished; different; distinct’ or ‘examine, explain, elucidate’; c1300, c1325, c1340, c1350, c1390, a1398, frequent from 1400. None of these meanings seem to exactly correspond to the use. Cf. **distinguen** (v) from 1340, **distinccioun** (n) c1230(?a1200) (*Ancrene Wisse*).
AND: **distincter** (v) 3 ‘to describe in detail’.
RTC: not in glossary.

This sense is not recognised by the *MED* and so apparently not otherwise attested in ME. While the English word had some currency by 1300, its use here is semantically indebted to AF. The earlier uses may have been isolated given the ninety years gap and seventy until this use, plus in quite a different sense.

duree (3258 ‘hii ne hadden none duree’ [L: ‘ne myȝte duyre’])
Smithers: ‘capacity for continued resistance’; a calque on OF *avoir durée* ‘to have endurance, capacity to resist’.
MED: **dure** (n), **haven no** ~ ‘to be unable to hold out’ [OF]; in *KA* and two mss. of Mannyng’s *Story of England* dating to a1338. The verb (**duren**) has a number of attestations in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The two first uses of **duresse (**n) are in Auchinleck.
OED: *KA* and c1330 (Wace).
AND: **aver duree** ‘to endure, last’.
RTC: **durer** (v) (420, 1587, 1795, 6571); cf. **aduree**, **endurer**.

The form of the noun, identical to the French, and the phrasal context suggest a French origin rather than an English formation on the verb. The lack of later attestations for the noun suggests it remained a French element, as does the change to the better-known verb in L.

enuesure (5534 ‘Hii lowȝen and maden enuesure’)
Smithers: ‘merriment’.
MED: **envesure** (n) [OF enveisure]: ‘Sport, merriment.’ Only attestation. Cf. **envoisie** (adj), **envoisen** (v 2), **enveisaunce** (n) attested only c1450 in a single text and as byname c12/13.
OED: agrees.
AND: **enveisure** (n) ‘merry-making’ and various other senses.
RTC: **envoisure**, **enveisure** (n) ‘happiness, jest’ (19, 422, 684, 770). Also **envoiser** (adj and v).

A common French word found nowhere else in ME. The suggestion clearly is that it would be a rather foreign element, not in any way naturalised either then or at a later time. The preceding *lowȝen* might be seen as lightly glossing but does not have really have the same meaning. The rhyme with “auenture” may have prompted the use of an original word, found in the *RTC*.

essure (4316 ‘[man] glyt away so dooþ þessure’)
Smithers: ‘puff of wind’ [AN *essur, OF. essor].
MED: no entry.
OED: not recorded.
AND: **essor** (n) ‘attack’ (cf. *DMF* sense 4).
RTC: not in glossary.

DMF **essor** (n) ‘Exposition à l’air, air libre; Vol libre d’un oiseau; Envol (de l’âme hors du corps à la mort; Attaque’; cf. *FEW* ***exaurare** “action d’exposer a l’air; air pur; vent chaud’.

Beyond the clear rarity in ME, this form is interesting since the attested insular uses are only in a derivative sense quite different from that used in *KA*, and without prompt from the *RTC*. However, it is maintained in L.

estallacioun (590 ‘art of estallacioun’)

Smithers: ‘configuration of stars’ (see note to line).
MED: no entry; cf. **constellacioun** (n), attested in *Seven Sages* and texts of the later fourteenth century.
OED: not recorded.
AND: **estallacion** (n) ‘consultation of the stars’.
RTC: **estallacion** (variant at 51), not listed in glossary.

Smithers’ note points out that the prefix *e-* is unusual (not recorded in Godefroy), although it is ‘characteristic of AN. to substitute one prefix for another in compounds’. One MS of the *RTC* has a form *astellacion*, he adds (see *AND* entry, where it is the sole quotation). The word will have been unproblematic given the use of **constellacioun**, but in its highly unusual form that is likely to derive from the *RTC* shows an AF peculiarity in ME.

fedde (3060 ‘many þousande of hise [w]e fedde’)

Smithers: ‘*pt. pl.* outlawed’ [*fede* v. ad. OF. *faidir*]; Smithers bases his proposed meaning on the Latin which ‘means “drove out” or the like, and is therefore an adoption of OF. *faidir* “to banish, outlaw”’.
MED: only records **fede** (n 1) [OF faide, from Gmc.] ‘Mortal enmity, hostility, homicide committed in revenge; a mortal enemy’; a Latin use in c1120, otherwise not until the frequent use in *Cursor Mundi* a1400(a1325).
OED: OE etymology for **fed**, **fede**, (adj and n) with usages in 1250 and 1300 (*Cursor*).
AND: **faide** (n) ‘hostility, feud’; **estre faidé (vers)** ‘to be the sworn enemy of’.
Godefroy: **faidir** (v) ‘traiter en ennemi; poursuivre’.
RTC: not in glossary.

The Germanic cognates are attested well back. The verb could have been derived from the English noun, the AF noun, an unattested insular verb, or the continental verb. In any case its use in English is unlikely to have been familiar. The sense in relation to the attested uses of ME **fede** and the French forms appears unusual, hence Smithers’ lengthy justification of his suggestion. It is found in direct speech by one of Alisaunder’s barons and occurs at the end of a line, rhyming *wedde*, but this context offers little explication for the unusual form.

feraunt (3455 ‘many fair stede feraunt’)

Smithers: ‘iron-grey’.
MED: **ferraunt** (adj) (a) [OF ferrant] ‘Of a horse: iron-grey; ?also, exellent’; *KA*,1352, c1440(?a1400) *Morte Arthure* 2x, 1440 *Degrevant*.
OED: agrees.
AND: **ferant**[1] (adj) ‘(iron) grey’.
RTC: **ferant** ‘grey’ (1403, 2977).

The phrase is a direct rendering of ‘un cheval ferant’, which occurs somewhat earlier in the *RTC*. Very rare in English, with exact parallel formulaic use in French and the source, it appears to be a word that never really got into English and was always perceived as French.

flegel (7763, A only, ‘Þo þe cloþ was ydrawe | Þe waite gan aflegel blawe’ [L: ‘apipe’; B: ‘a choger’, on which see entry above])

Smithers: ‘flute’.

MED: **flagel** (n) [OF flageol & flavel] ‘A wind instrument; prob., a flageolet’; only *KA* and *King Richard* (6748, 6771 in most manuscripts; earliest one late fourteenth century; Auchinleck fragments not for this passage).

OED: **flagel**[1] (n).

AND: **flegel** (n) ‘flute (?)’, cf. **fregel** (n) ‘flute (?)’, both only attested in glosses and **frestel** (n) ‘a kind of flute’ (many, widely diverging, spelling variants for these words).

RTC: not in glossary or equivalent passage.

FEW: ***flabeolum**, *AFW* **flajol**, *DMF*/Godefroy **flageol** flöte, flûte de berger’.

This use, an alternative to *a choger* in Laud (see above), was probably used from the author’s or adaptor’s own knowledge of AF rather than ME. As the *lectio difficilior*, *choger* is to be expected as the older reading, with ‘flegel’ put in when the phrase was either not understood or considered too opaque for the redactor’s audience. *Flegel* may have been more current in AF than the records suggest; the appearance as gloss to Latin can variously suggest it was well known and therefore suitable to elucidate a term, or, conversely, that it was used only in the relatively learned context of those with access to Latin, even if their command of it was as yet imperfect. The broad range of spellings of this set of words, distant variants of *flageol*, might suggest instability in the word and hence imperfect knowledge of it. The very limited contexts in which it is found in ME, however, strongly suggest it was a highly French element at least.

fluuie (6394 ‘Tygres, a fluuye of Paradys’ [L: ‘aflum’])

Smithers: ‘river’ (see note to line).

MED: no entry.

OED: not recorded.

AND: **flueve** (n).

RTC: **fluvie** (1737, 3032 ‘Tigres le fluuies’).

As noted by Smithers, the word is used in the same passage in *RTC*. In ME it is a *hapax legomenon*. The similarity to e.g. *flum* (substituted in L) and **fluvial**, **flumal** (adj) as well as the context in which it is used mean that it would probably not have caused problems of comprehension. This specific form cannot however be considered English. It has the distinct AF form also used in *RTC*. In OF the variants of *flueve* and *flum/n* are legion.

a foysoun(s) (1010 ‘Skarslich and nouȝt a foysoun’, L: ‘nouȝt foisoun’; 5288 ‘Hii slown a grete fuysouns’, section missing in L)

Smithers: ‘lavishly, in great number’; cf. foysoun(s) ‘abundance, quantity, suppplies to spare’.

MED: **foisoun** (n) [OF foison, fuison] ‘abundance, large number, power’; amply attested, but not in this phrase; cf. **a** (prep 2) ‘In various phrases taken from OF’, which often developed to **a-** (pref 2), ‘From the unstressed variant **a** of the ME prepositions **on** & **of**, and from the OF prep. **a**. The transition from prep. phrase to adv. is hard to trace [...] OF **a** phrases became advs. in ME when French was no longer widely spoken.’
OED: **foison** (n).
AND: **fuison** (n) > **a, au (grant) fuison** ‘in abundance, in strength’.
RTC: not in glossary; variant *a grant foison* in P (361).

The noun itself is not rare and is used elsewhere in *KA* (1028, 5438). The phrases are recorded in the *AND* but not in the *MED*. Smithers’ note at 5288 mentions *a* here ‘is the OF. preposition *a* < *ad*, as in 1010’. This preposition is also used in *KA* with *aise, choger* and *sette*. The collocation with *gret* does occur more often in ME. The development to adverbials does not seem to have taken place in *KA*, where the phrases in which *a* is used are and remain rare and the connection with OF seems very much intact. All uses are in rhyming position and, although <-*oun*> is not the hardest rhyme, versification may have provided a prompt.

furchure (4986, 6306 ‘Anoþer folk [...] habbeþ furchures swiþe wide’; ‘Wide and longe is her furchure’).

Smithers: ‘the junction of the legs’.
MED: **fourchure** (n) [OF forcheure.] ‘The fork made by the juncture of legs with the body, the crotch’; only *KA* and *Firumbras* c1380; cf. **fourche** (n), with four attestations in later manuscripts of fourteenth-century texts.
OED: **forchure** (n).
AND: **furchure** (n) ‘fork, crotch; parting of ways; pincers’.
RTC: **forcheure** (n) ‘crotch, length of leg’ (1038, 4041, 4732, 6714).

A rare term prompted in this ME use by the presence in the source text, unlikely to have become more integrated, but also relatively unproblematic in terms of meaning if **fourche** saw more spoken use in the fourteenth century. Note the repeated collocation with *wide* (in the *RTC*, the word collocates with *longe*, *ample* and *grant*), suggesting a limited context of occurrence typical of words that have not been integrated.

gorgeien (5616 ‘Alle gorg[ei]en als a rauene’)

Smithers: ‘speak gutturally’ [OF *gorgeier*].
MED: **gorgen** (v) [OF gorgier] ‘To eat greedily, gorge oneself’; the only attestation, with the comment [?error for: gorgeien] for which verb there is no entry; Smithers has emended to *gorgeien*.
OED: **gorge** (v); medieval attestations limited to *KA* and a text of 1486.
AND: **gorgeier** (v) ‘to make throaty sounds’.
RTC: **gorgeier** (v) ‘speak from the throat’ (5448, 6025).

The description of Turcs in *RTC* (great, black, *gorgeient* (6025)) corresponds closely to that in *KA* of the people whose port is called *Ypereus* (‘Grete men and blake hii ben’, ‘gorg[ei]en’ (5616)). Smithers’ emendation seems justified and the use of the word was likely influenced directly by the use in the *RTC*. The word is not used elsewhere in English, taken directly from French and very likely more French than English.

harshede (1114 ‘Alisaundre […] out hire harshede’ [L: ‘hasted’])

Smithers: ‘dragged’ [Old Walloon *herchier* id.].

MED: **harshen** (v) [OF hercier] ‘To drag (sb.).’ Only attested here.

OED: does not record.

AND: **hercer** (v) only in the sense ‘To harrow, plough’.

Godefroy: **hercier** 1 (v) has the sense ‘tirer’.

RTC: not in glossary.

The lack of English forms at any other time suggests that this word, too, was imported directly out of French by the author (possibly continental French for this sense), without any prompt from the source. The form would have been alien despite the English morphology.

hontage (3312 ‘Myne harme is gret, more myne ho[n]tage’ [MS ‘houtrage’] [L: ‘wite wel ȝe’])

Smithers: ‘humiliation’.

MED: **hountage** (n) [AF **hountage**; cp. OF **hontage**.] ‘Shame, disgrace.’ Two attestations, both c1390 (Vernon MS). Cf. **hounte** (n) [Cp. OF **honte**.] ‘Shame’ or ‘insult, abuse’ in c1330(?a1300) (*Arthour & Merlin*) and c1450.

OED: **hontous** (adj) gives **hontage**, but notes the ‘connexion and meaning of the … quot. is doubtful’.

AND: **huntage** (n).

RTC: **hontage** ‘shame’ (949, 952, 3419).

The word is used (in this spelling) in the *RTC*. Given the emendation, (likely the source of the identical spelling,) not too much can be said about the form. If justified, this is a rare word probably taken directly from French. The actual reading (not likely to be original, for in different ink) *houtrage* is a rare form in *h-* of **outrage** (n. [OF outrage] (attested in *AND* **utrage**), whose sense of ‘injury, harm’ is not out of place if pleonastic. This word is not attested before 1300 but frequently from then on and is found several times in *KA*. It may have been relatively new, although the many uses from 1300 on might suggest earlier currency. This word too is used in the *RTC*, at 2903, 3427 and 4540 (though in the sense ‘rash act’). Also used is **honeison** (3272). Peculiarly *KA* features two unusual forms related to **hounte**, both **hountage** and *honteys*. This is hard to explain.

honteys (3827 ‘Þer roos cry and grete honteys’)

Smithers: ‘exchange of taunts, insults’; ‘most likely to be an irregular formation (by the author of *KA*), with the OF. suffix *-eiz*, which forms abstract nouns denoting some violent or confused action or other [...] . In OF. this type of noun is always formed on a verb; the absence of a **honteiz* is therefore not surprising’.

MED: probably a form in *-s* (conditioned by rhyme with *Gregeis*) of **hounte** (n) (b) ‘?invective, insult, abuse’ [Cp. OF **honte** & **hontoiier**]; recorded only (as *honteie*) for c1330(?a1300) (*Arthour & Merlin*, Auchinleck).

OED: does not record.

AND: **huntage** (n) 2 records the sense ‘shameful remark, insult’; cf. for form **huntus** (adj) and **hunte** (n).

RTC: **hontage** only in the sense ‘shame’; cf. ‘Au roy Alisandre dit honte e contraille’ (1867).

The absence of the form in *KA* from the *MED* alerts us to the limitations of its evidence. Most likely this form differs from that in *Arthour & Merlin* only because of rhyme (*honteys*/*Gregeis* in *KA*; *honteye*/*way* in *AM* 6879–80), with both forms derived from French.

jobet (3200 'Many jobet and many ware' [L: 'pruyde'])

Smithers: 'fool' [OF. *jobet*].

MED: **jobet** (n) [Cp. **jobard** & F (17th cent.) **jobet**.] 'fool'; unique attestation, two for related **jobard** (n) a1500.

OED: **jobet** 'fool'; single attestation in ME.

AND: does not record; **goberie** 'empty boasting' and **gobeier** 'boast, brag' are unrelated to **jobet** (see *FEW* **gabb** and ***gobbo**).

Godefroy: **jobard** as byname in c12.

FEW: **Hiob** > **jobet** (n) 'niais, sot, jobard' first attested 1602.

RTC: not in glossary or concordance search.

There appears to be some confusion or disagreement over the etymology of the AF forms **goberie** and **gobeier**, which are semantically close enough to have played a role in the unrecorded history of **jobet**. *FEW* derives them from ON **gabb** (which also gave ME **gabbe**, **gabben**), while the *AND* points to the *FEW* entry ***gobbo** instead, where no exact equivalent form is included in the entry. Within the entry for **gabb**, the AF forms are unique in having a form *gob-* rather than *gab-*, which sadly does not receive comment and is not accompanied by quotations. They provide a potential origin for *KA*'s **jobet**, as one attested variant spelling for **goberie** is *joberie*. Either, then, this ME use is a unique record of the early existence of later French **jobet**, with no insular French record for this form, or it is related to and derived, in AF or ME, from the word family **goberie**, clearly distinct by the vowel from continental usage. If the latter, it was probably formed as a diminutive, suggesting it was created in AF rather than ME. If however it is an early record of **jobet**, it shows that word must have existed in medieval continental French to account for both the later French attestations and the use here, illustrating the gaps in our evidence. A combination in which both forms existed and one reinforced the other is also possible. Either way, the use here is clearly isolated in English, the word being taken directly from French. Like **laroun**, the pejorative function of **jobet** may have meant that it would have occurred in spoken AF in everyday life, leading to familiarity of the word among those with little French. The ME verb **japen** combines OF **japer** with **gaber** and is attested from the later fourteenth century, but no form in <*o*> is recorded in the *MED*.

jouaunt (3201 'Many turforþ and many jouaunt' [L: 'geaunt'])

Smithers: 'merry fellow' [OF. *jo(i)ant* a. <*jouer*].

MED: **jouaunt** (n) [Cp. OF joiant adj. & jöant, ppl. of jöer, jouer.] '?A merry of playful person, ?an entertainer'; only attested here.

OED: does not record.

AND: **juer**[2] (n) with the senses 'player' and 'entertainer'.

RTC: not in glossary or concordance search.

A French formation not otherwise attested, the word is unlikely to have been naturalised in English, as is perhaps illustrated by the change in L.

laroun, ledron (3206, 4202 ‘J was neuer no laroun’)

Smithers: ‘thief, blackguard’ [OF larron x OF ledre].

MED: **laroun** (n) [OF larron, laron, larun] ‘robber, thief’; only *KA* and *Generides* c1450 (also in speech by king: ‘The king was so ful of ire, | He quoke, his hert was so on fire; | Thoo he cleped his barouns, | And seid, “ye traitowrs and fals larouns”,’ (2095–98) in *A Royal Historie of the Excellent Knight Generides,* ed. by F. J. Furnivall, Roxburghe Club 85 (Hertford: Roxburghe Club, 1865)).

OED: **laron** (n).

AND: **larun** (n); among the variants are forms like *leres*.

RTC: **leres** (n) (1524); variant forms **laron**, **larrons** (total uses then 10+); **larcin** ‘theft’ in same passage as the *KA* use (3402).

The form *ledron* remains a bit odd, with no parallel recorded in the *AND*. Beyond that the word will have been unusual in ME but was common enough in AF. It is easy to speculate, more for this word than for others, that in everyday life it might occur in spoken AF in a way that monolingual English-speaking bystanders would get to know it.

leuncel (2721 ‘A le[un]cel was on his spere’ [MS ‘lemicel’] [L: ‘Alaunce’])

Smithers: ‘device representing a small lion’.

MED: **lionseu** (n) [OF lïoncel, lïonceau.] ‘A young lion, little lion; a statue of a young lion; a young lion in a coat of arms, shield, or the like’; attested in *KA*, a1500(?c1450) (*Merlin*), c1460, and a1500.

AND: **leuncel** (n) ‘A young lion’.

OED: does not record.

RTC: **lioncel**, variant **leuncel** (2159).

The use in *KA* seems completely isolated from the other attestations, with a gap of 150 years. Likely, then, it was taken directly from French usage (see note Smithers on how the sense is lightly adapted).

maneys (3751 ‘Arme þee quyk, of maneys’ [L: ‘in armes’])

Smithers: ‘at once; calque on OF. *demaneis*’.

MED: **maneis** (n) [OF manois, maneis] ‘In phrase of ~ [cp. OF demanois], at once’; only *KA*.

OED: not recorded (link from *MED* entry wrongly leads to **mains** (n) ‘demesne lands, farm’).

AND: **maneis, demaneis** (adv) ‘immediately’.

RTC: not in glossary or concordance search.

With no other ME uses and no prompt from the source text, this phrase shows the poet using a normal AF phrase that is lightly anglicised by changing the preposition.

meigntenaunt (5293 ‘hym astrangled meigntenaunt’)

Smithers: ‘on the instant’.

MED: **maintenaunt** (n) [OF] ‘instantly, soon’; only *KA* and c1425(?a1400) *Arthur*.

OED: **maintenant** (n).

AND: **maintenant**[2] (n) ‘immediately, now’.

RTC: **maintenant** in concordance search several uses.

This is clearly a fairly common form in AF that was never really adopted into English.

menbrette (4756 ‘Alle menbrette naciouns’)

Smithers: ‘vigorous of physique’; ‘an analogical singular deduced from the pl. *membrez* (in which *z* has the value [ts]), beside sg. *membré*’.

MED: **membret** (adj) [OF membré stout-limbed.] ‘Vigorous, physically strong’; only attested here.

OED: does not record.

AND: **membré** (adj) ‘having strong limbs’; form **menbrez** only in quotations, from *RTC* and Gower.

Godefroy: **membré** (adj) ‘membru’.

RTC: **membrez** (3558, 5495), cf. **membru** ‘muscular’ (1675).

A word with no other history or cognates in English, it was probably taken directly from French. The *RTC* may have provided a prompt.

murey (193, 6234 ‘Wiþouten þe tounes murey’ [L: ‘þe toun was mury’]; ‘made swiche a stronge muray’ [kept in L])

Smithers: ‘wall’.

MED: **murai** (n) [OF murail; prob. back formation from muraus, pl.] ‘A wall’; only *KA*. Cf. **mur** (n), two attestations.

OED: **muray** (n) / not recorded (in this sense).

AND: **mural** (n).

RTC: not in glossary or concordance search; cf. **mur** (n).

The form in *KA* is clearly taken from French, but even **mur** seems to have been relatively rare. There is no prompt in surviving manuscripts of the *RTC* for this specific form.

oyllier (2355 ‘he hitte Amanas […] in þe oyl[li]er of þe eiȝen’ [MS ‘oyluer’])

Smithers: ‘eyepiece on the helmet’.

MED: **oillier** (n) [OF] ‘An opening in a helmet in front of the eyes’; only attested here.

OED: does not record.

AND: **oiller** (n) ‘eyehole’.

RTC: **oiller** (n) “’yehole (*of helm*)’ (7441).

A word with no other history in English, this was probably taken directly from French. The *RTC* uses the word, albeit at a later point.

piropes (n pl) (5673 ‘Preciouse stones, [...] piropes’ [M: ‘peritottes’])

Smithers: ‘fiery-coloured gems’.

MED: **pirope** (n) [OF] ‘A precious stone of fiery color’; one attestation next to *KA*, in a lapidary a1500.

OED: **pyrope** (n).

AND: not recorded.

RTC: not in glossary; the passage 5512–24 (discussed by Smithers because it shows a ‘quaint misunderstanding’ of the source) just mentions *perres* and *pereres* (with no relevant variants in other manuscripts) and lists the colours of the gems, not the gems like in *KA*.

GD/DMF not recorded; *TLFi* **pyrope** (n), quoted from 1258 (in the *Roman de Mahomet*).

M (with the *Bagford Ballads*) here also turns *safyres* into *sa furnys*. As one in a list of precious stones, understanding would not have been an issue, but the introduction of a rare term to the original text is interesting to note. Except for the limited context of specialist usage, as evidenced by the lapidary, this is unlikely to have been at all integrated. The use in the *Roman de Mahomet* is also in what may be considered an exotic context: on Mohammed's death, lamps are put by his tomb which seem to burn on nothing, but in fact contain *pyropes*.

ramproned (1099 'A duk [...] ramproned hym of Olympias' [L: 'told'])

Smithers: 'taunted' [OF. *ramp(r)o(s)ner*].

MED: **rampronen** (v) [OF ramponer, ramproner.] 'To taunt (sb.)'; unique attestation.

OED: does not record.

AND: **ramposner** 'to deride, jeer at, insult'.

RTC: **reprover** (v) 'blame, reproof' (658, 708, 1355).

Only attested here, with no English cognates of any sort, this was probably perceived as French despite English morphology. The *RTC* uses *reprover* in this scene, a form attested in ME from the mid-fourteenth century (*MED* **repreve** (n)). The author preferred a similar word from his own vocabulary that was at least as rare in earlier Middle English. Given the later integration of **reprove** we may speculate, but no more than that, that **rampronen** was the rarer of the two in the first half of the fourteenth century.

reremeyn (7389 'Wel hii fiȝtten | wiþ reremeyn')

Smithers: 'back-handed blow'.

MED: **rere-maine** (n) [AF areremaine, var. of OF ariere main.] 'A backhanded stroke'; occurs here and in Malory (a1470).

OED: *KA* and later form **rere-demain** in c16.

AND: **areremain** (adv) various senses of 'back(wards)'; no noun.

RTC: **rereban** (n) 'rearguard' (4496) is the only similar word.

The use in *KA* and Malory is likely unrelated, both taking the term from French.

retours (601 'He shal be poysond saunz retours' [L: 'saun return'])

Smithers: *saunz* ~ 'without fail'.

MED: retour (n) [OF **retor, retour** return.] 'A return; **sauns** ~, *fig.* unescapably'; *KA* and two more attestations in Auchinleck; 1410, etc. The early uses seem isolated, separated by a gap of eighty years. Curiously, the *MED* suggests that the reading perhaps should be *recours*, which makes less sense in the context and is not supported by Lincoln Inn's **return** (found first in Gower, mainly in the fifteenth century; the late adaptation in Lincoln's Inn may have resulted in this by then better known form being preferred, even though this reduces the rhyme with *traitour*).

OED: similar results, but does not include *KA*'s form in <-*s*>.

AND: **retur** (n) (which includes forms in <-*n*>).

RTC: not in glossary.

Used in a limited number of related texts, then not recorded for eighty years, this word was probably reborrowed in the fifteenth century. Its use in *KA* is the use of a French term. Like *a foysoun*, it is found in rhyming position.

sarrilich (2128, 3761 'And comen sarrilich byhynde')

Smithers: 'in close formation' [OF. *sarré, serré*].

MED: **sarreli** (adv) [From sarre (adj)] 'In close order, in serried ranks'; three attestations in Auchinleck's *Arthour and Merlin* (c1330(?a1300)), two in *KA* and one in Mannyng's *Story of England* (a1450(a1338)). The word is a morphologically English formation on **sarre** (adj) [OF **ser(r)é, sarré**, p.ppl. of **serrer**.] 'serried', also found only in *Arthour and Merlin* and Mannyng's *Story of England*.

OED: does not record; cf. **serr** (v), **serry** (v), **serried** (adj), attested from the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

AND: **serré** (adj 1) 'crowded together, in serried ranks, tight', perhaps cf. **serre**[2] s. 'saw, (an attacking formation)'.

RTC: **serré** 7x, e.g. 'Tuit **serré** e rengé se sunt al champ mis' (2130); cf. **serrement** 'closely' (5047).

This use is very isolated in English, occurring only in a group of texts all close to French. The lack of later use also suggests that the word never became quite English, despite the morphological assimilation. The later forms recorded in the *OED* can with some confidence be said to be reborrowings from French, given the gap of more than two and a half century between attestations. Interesting to note is the lack of phonological development between these later forms and French *serrer*, in contrast to the lowering to *-ar* found in *KA*. Lowering occurred in French as well, but was not reflected in spelling. In English, the lowered form may be relatively early; lowering started early in the fourteenth century in northern England, reaching the south by the end of the century.[2] Adoption of a form without phonological development would more likely occur in a period of pervasive bilingualism (albeit only in certain circles) even for words that were rarely used as ME by these speakers. That this lowering was not an isolated development in *KA* is shown, for example, by the survival of spellings in <-*ar*> in Scots up to the sixteenth century.

slice (3829 'Hii braken speres al to slice' [L: 'sclyces'])

Smithers: 'splinters'.

MED: **sclice** (n) [OF esclice, AF sclice.] (2a) 'splinter, sliver'; cf. (1) 'spatula, probe, forcepts' in quite a few fifteenth-century uses in medical contexts.

OED: **slice**[1] (n).

AND: **esclice** (n) 'splinter, wooden sword, spatula'.

RTC: **esclices** (6179).

This sense, which is closest to the AF main use, is not otherwise attested in ME, and is unlikely to have been integrated.

sengle (204 'Dame Olympias […] | Sengle rood')

[2] Donka Minkova, *A Historical Phonology of English* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2014), pp. 200 and 275–76.

Smithers: ‘wearing a girdle’ [OF. *cenglé*, pp. of *cengler*]; note to line points to *Richard Coer de Lion* (1071) ‘seyngle in a kertil he stood’ for a similar usage in ME, also quoting as OF example *Le Mort Aymeri*.
MED: **sengle** (adj.) [OF & L] 4. ‘scantily clothed’; 1330(?c.1300) (*Guy* Auch), c1380 (*Ferumbras*), *KA*, 1450(?1408) (*Vegetius*). Other senses not before 1300.
OED: **single**, *a.* 9. ‘in slight raiment’ Obs. Adds *Coer de L.* 13.., Trevisa 1387, *Knight de la Tour* a1450.
AND: **sengle** a. ‘(clothed) in nothing but’ (cites *RTC*).
RTC: **sengle (en sa chemise)** ‘in nothing but (her undertunic)’ (184).

Examination of the context in the *RTC* and of French usage leads to the conclusion that Smithers was wrong in glossing this as ‘wearing a girdle’. Smithers’ definition is otherwise unattested and not supported by that in the *RTC*, which is clearly the direct source for the English use: ‘La roune ert acoutee a l’esponde du lit | Sengle en sa chemise en un mantel samit’ (184–85). The queen is only wearing certain items (*AND* **sengle**), rather than wearing a girdle (*AND* **cengle**, though spellings converged). The scene is near to the passage in which it is used in *KA* but not the exact same one. In *RTC*, as the queen rides through town the description is ‘La royne Olimpias out son mantel osté’ (135), while a little while later as she reclines on her bed we get *sengle*, quoted above. This later description in *KA* becomes ‘Þe lefdy liiþ on her bedde, | Yhiled myd a silken webbe. | Jn a chaysel smok she lay, | And in a mantel of Doway’ (277–80). The term in the *RTC* is of **sengle** (adj) rather than related to **cengle** (n), though the line does look like it has a problem, with the repetition of ‘en’. The direct source plus the sense of the *MED*, not attested earlier nor leading to continuous use, suggest it was a rather French element.

skek (2831 ‘Þe kyng dude a noble skek’)
Smithers: ‘? sally’.
MED: **skek** (n) [AF eschec, eskek vars. of OF] ‘A raid, plundering attack’; 5 attestations, all c1300 (three in *Arthour and Merlin*, one in *KA* and Gloucester’s *Chronicle*). The related **skekerie** n. only occurs twice c1350 (*Castleford Chronicle*). The verb and gerund give a few later attestations, some later versions of *KA*, in 1387 (Trevisa), the *Castleford Chronicle*, and *When Adam delf*. Interestingly, each of the related forms is found in *KA*, but otherwise rare.
OED: **skeck** (n) Obs. rare. Only Gloucester and *AM*. Refers to **skeg** (n 3), which has two sixteenth-century attestations.
AND: **eschec**[1] ‘booty, pillage’.
RTC: **eschec** ‘booty’ (2065).

The word is only found in English in a select group of texts from the same period and a similar French cultural tradition. The use is rare and probably taken straight from French.

tapynage (7122, 7534 ‘þe king/her lord in his tapynage’ [L: ‘tapnage’])
Smithers: ‘concealment’; **in tapynage** ‘secretly’.
MED: **tapinage** (n) [OF ; also cp. AL tapināgium] ‘Disguise; gon (ben went) in ~’; only two other attestations, in Chaucer (discussed in 5.4) and Gower; no related words.
OED: **tapinage** (n).

AND: **tapinage** (n), cf. **tapin**, **tapiné**.
RTC: **tapiné** ‘hidden’ (121).

At the note to 7534, Smithers points out the similarity to the French phrase *en tapinage* ‘in secret’. With related forms the word seems common enough in AF; the rarity in ME is harder to assess, but the term is unlikely to have been familiar around 1300.

trappe (1604 ‘Many hors wiþ trappe wryen’ [L: ‘trappen’]; 3417 ‘Many trappe, many croupere’)

Smithers: ‘caparison’.
MED: **trappe** (n 2) (usually plural) [OF, AF & L] ‘Ornamental and protective covering for a horse’; 7 attestations between 1300 (*KA*) and 1500, with one in 1311, although in a Latin context, and one in *King Richard*. Three of the attestations are glossaric definitions rather than actual usages.
OED: **trap** (n 2) Obs. ‘cloth or covering spread over the saddle or harness of a horse’; *KA* 2x, *King Richard*; c1400 Octavian; 1513 Douglas; 1721. Refers to **trapper** (n 1), which gives more frequent use throughout ME and later, although *Richard* is still the first and Chaucer only the next (1386), hence a gap of about eighty years. *MED* **trappour** (n) gives 1385 (Chaucer) and frequent use from 1400.
AND: **trappe** (n) ‘snare, trap’ but also ‘caparison’, in a petition of c1300; cf. **drapeur** ‘drapery, cloth’ (1275) and, in a letter of 1392 **trappé** (adj) ‘decorated’, a gloss that, with no etymology given, obscures the probable relation to **drap** ‘cloth’, though the context reinforces the link (‘deux grandez coursers, trappés de drap d’or’).
Godefroy: no such sense recorded under **drap** (n), but cf. **drapure** ‘couverture’ with quote a1500 “chevaulx couvers de drapures diverses” and AF **drapeur** ‘sorte de drap’, the use quoted in *AND*.
RTC: ‘bon cheval covert de drap osterin’ (1629).

The first attestations are both in romances, after which there is a long gap before later uses. The suggestion is that it was not common at the time and very much there only because of the French romance lexicon, perhaps prompted by the source, though not by the equivalent passage. The single occurrence in this sense in an AF petition at around the time *KA* was written points at the word’s presence in the practical registers of AF which those who had learned French for professional purposes are more likely to have known. There is not one, single, form clearly associated with caparisons, but several which occur regularly in contexts involving horses.

tresget (7389 ‘Wel hii fiȝtten […] | Wiþ tresget’)

Smithers: ‘transverse stroke’.
MED: **treget** (n) [OF **tresjet**] (a) ‘transverse sword stroke, thrust, lunge?’; in this sense only *KA*; in sense ‘deceit’ a number of others, earliest 1325, rest c15, although c12 already as surname.
OED: **tresget** Obs. rare ‘Casting of darts’ gives only *KA*.
AND: **treget** (n) only ‘riddance; siege-engine; jetty; journey; magic; trickery’.
Godefroy: **tresgiet** has ‘action de lancer’ beside ‘enchantement, magie’.
RTC: not in glossary.

The context in *KA* firmly supports the sense given by Smithers and the *MED*, a sense that appears uniquely taken here from a French usage. Although the *AND* does not record this sense, it is used in the *Roman de Rou* (II 1773 'coup, expression d'escrimeur'). The sense may have been more known in continental French, but made at least this appearance in Britain.

trigoldrye (7006 'ȝif he woot of þis trigoldrye' [L: 'sygaldrye'])

Smithers: 'deception'; 'formed on the OF ad. trigaud "given to deceit", which is first recorded in the fourteenth century'.

MED: **trigoldrie** (n) [Prob. OF: cp. F (16th cent.) **trigaud** adj. & F (17th cent.) **trigauderie** n.] 'Deception'. c1330(?a1300) (*KA* Auchinleck).

OED: does not record (but cf. **sigaldry** 'sorcery', for the form in L, which may itself have been rare but makes good sense in the context, referring to a prophecy by speaking trees).

AND: does not record.

RTC: not in glossary or concordance search.

TLFi **trigaud** (n) 'qui agit avec duplicité' points to *FEW* **trigolf** 'betrüger', which notes that the adjective is attested from 1606, and the noun from 1680, while earlier quotations given elsewhere are based on scribal error; but cf. **trigal**, **trigaler**, **trigalerie** 'debaucher' under *FEW* **wala** 'gut' (in Breton and Picard sources of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries), glossed in Godefroy as 'mener un vie de débauche'.

An OF word must have existed as source for the later French form **trigaud**, as well as this use. Its non-attestation shows the limits of surviving records. Although it is known that non-attestation does not equal absence of use in this case, the form was probably very rare and unlikely to have been integrated into English. However, to complicate matters, the currency of forms of the type *trigal-* in relatively Northern OF dialects before 1300 may provide the explanation for the form in *KA*. Although of different etymology, the senses of **trigaud** and **trigaler** could converge and the glosses for *trigal-* in *AFW* and Godefroy differ, with neither fully satisfactory (for the noun **trigale** Godefroy gives only a question mark). The sense given for **triegolf** and its derivatives in *FEW* seems more apt to the context in *KA*, but a form derived from **wala** instead is not impossible, given e.g. **trigale** 'objet de moqueries'. In *KA* it is Alisaunder's reference to the trees' prophecy as lies, which could deceive but also mock him. There is no immediate insular evidence for a French or other ME use. It might however have been familiar in everyday interactions, like the pejorative terms **jobet** and **laroun**.

veire (999, 1140, 5667, 5670 'And sworen, and seiden veire'; 'So shullen [...] ben in veire' [M: 'For soth so schall [...] bee'])

Smithers: 'indeed, assuredly'.

MED: **veire (**adv) [AF veir, vair, veire, vars. of OF voir, voire adv.] 'in truth, indeed, truly'; only *KA* and *AM*; cf. **veirs**, only in *AM*.

OED: **veire** (adv and n).

AND: **veir**[1] (adv) 'truly'.

RTC: **veir**, **veire**, **veirs** as adj. and adv.

This form will have given little trouble to comprehension given the common use of **verreiment**, but is distinctly unintegrated in ME. It is used as witnesses testify *veire* that Alexander was a false heir: this adds a rhyme, but also reinforces the contrast between their assurance ('indeed, assuredly' in the glossary) and the etymological meaning of 'truth', surely not exactly lost, of **veire**. Of course in a way they are right about Alisaunder's parentage. At 1140 there is the same rhyme, but this time to emphasise a statement that he is Philip's heir.

Appendix 6: Vocabulary of French Origin in *Handlyng Synne*

This appendix gives lists of the basic information on the vocabulary of French origin in *Handlyng Synne* that is part of my study, totalling 478 words (see 4.2). The entries in the *MED*, Gburek's concordance, *OED* and *AND* are given, followed by the French etymon and the number of times the word is found in *HS*. The information for each item other than the *AND* headword is derived from Gburek's entries and has been checked against the *AND*, the *OED* and *MED*. For letters A–L only, the *MED* headwords were included in Gburek, as the dictionary had not yet been completed; I added the remainder myself.

The etymological note is derived in the first instance from Gburek. Although his etymological classification is not based on seaparate research (see 1.5.3), the notes themselves have only occasionally been modified and additional information relevant to the etymology may be found in footnotes. These also comment, where relevant, on the attestations of related words. Except where a form was specifically insular, Gburek gives OF as the source language. It is now recognised that a major part of the vocabulary of French origin adopted in ME came through AF, certainly up to the mid-fourteenth century.[1] I acknowledge this insight and it lies behind my analysis, but I have not adapted the etymological notes to reflect it.

Manuscripts of *HS* are referred to with the letters introduced in 4.1.5. Classification of the etymon as ONF (Old Northern French) derives from Gburek. Comments of the type 'attested from 1300' mean that a word is attested at least once every fifty-year period from that time, based on the *MED* manuscript datings. The form given as entry in Gburek is his lemma, which is the most frequent spelling in case of multiple spellings. Only occasionally, interesting multiple spellings are given here; for the full range, the reader is referred to Gburek. If the *MED* headword is italicised, this indicates the word is found also in *Kyng Alisaunder*; if it is in bold, the word is also found in La3amon's *Brut*. A number following the part of speech indicates the relevant entry in the *MED* or *OED*.

[1] See especially William Rothwell, 'The Missing Link in English Etymology: Anglo-French,' *Medium Ævum* 60 (1991), 173–96, and more recently Philip Durkin, *Borrowed Words: A History of Loanwords in English* (Oxford: OUP, 2014), pp. 267–80. This summarises his 'Etymological research on English words as a source of information about Anglo-French,' in *Present and future research in Anglo-Norman: Aberystwyth Colloquium, July 2011*, ed. by David Trotter (Aberystwyth: The Anglo-Norman Hub, 2012), pp. 101-07. On the more general recognition of the continued vitality of French in England, see 1.2 and 1.3.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
abaishen	v	abashed	abash v	abesser	AN abaiss- from OF e(s)baiss-, inf esbaïr; and OF abaissier	1
abaten	v	abate	abate v 1	abatre[1]	OF abatre[2]	2
abaven	v	a-bawed	abave	–	OF abaubir[3]	1
abbeie	n	abbey	abbey	abbaie	OF abeie[4]	6
abbesse	n	abbas	abbess	abbeiesse	OF abesse[5]	1
abhominable	adj	abominable	abominable	abhomina-ble	OF abominable[6]	1
abreggen	v	abreggyd	abridge v	abreger	OF abregier[7]	2
accidie	n	accyde	accidie	accidie	OF ac(c)ide	4
accord	n	acorde	accord n	acord	OF acorde[8]	1
accordaunce	n	a-cordaunce	accordance	acordance	OF acordance	1
accorden	v	a-cordeþ	accord v	acorder	OF acorder	2
accounte	n	a-counte	account n	acunte	OF acunt, aconte[9]	9
accounten	v	acounteþ	account v	acunter[1]	OF acunter, aconter	3
accountour	n pl	a-countours	accounter	acuntur[1]	AN acountour[10]	1

[2] The *OED3* entry concludes the ME word is of French origin. The Latin etymon was *abattere*; a later form *abatare* is attested in British sources in the sixteenth century.
[3] Although the *AND* nor its textbase contain no form of the French verb, Godefroy's quotations include insular texts.
[4] The Latin etymon, *abbatia*, influenced the fifteenth-century form *abbatie*. Its currency in Latin may have reinforced the French noun, which however must be considered the single major influence on the ME form *abbeie*.
[5] Latin *abatissa* gave an OE and ME *abbatisse*, distinct enough in form to conclude an exclusively French origin for **abbesse**, but similar enough that the earlier form will have influenced or reinforced the use of **abbesse**.
[6] The *OED3* entry concludes the ME form is of French origin, with no role of importance for post-classical Latin *abominabilis*.
[7] In *HS* this word is used in extended semantic usage compared to the *MED* and *AND*.
[8] The *OED3* entries for both noun and verb conclude they are of French origin, with no direct role for post-classical Latin *accordare* (only attested later).
[9] The *MED* has a note 'cf. L *computus*', presumably to explain the spellings in <*mpt*>. As the *OED* shows, these spellings also came into Middle French. In the *MED*, all entries with this spelling are late fourteenth-century. By contrast, all earlier forms are clearly derived from the French word. The word's appearance in ME would thus seem to be based on the French forms only. The same pattern is found for the verb, where *MED* suggests a comparison to ML *accomptare* in its etymology. For both, the *OED3* entry concludes it is of French origin. The verb is used in *HS* in sense 1 of the *MED* ('to count, include'), which is not attested before 1393. The earliest potential attestation, for a1325(c1280), is in a religious sense ('to confess, explain or justify, often "before God" ').

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
acombren	v	acumbred	accumber	encumbrer	OF encombrer cf. *combren*, *encombren*	1
acoupen	v 1	acoupe	acoupe v 1	acouper	OF acouper[11]	8
affiaunce	n	affyaunce	affiance n	affiance	OF afiance	4
affien	v	affye	affy v	affier[1]	OF afier[12]	2
afforcen	v	afforced	afforce v	aforcer	OF efforcier[13]	1
affrai	n	affray	affray n	effrei	OF effrei, ME *affraien*[14]	5
affraien	v 1	a-frayd	affray v, afraid adj	effreer	OF effreër	1
age	n	age	age n	age	OF aage	12
agraunten	v	a-graunte	agraunte	agraanter	AN agraunter from OF acreanter, agraanter[15]	1
agreven	v	a-greued	aggrieved cf. aggrieve	agrever	OF agrever[16]	1
ajoinen	v	a-ioynt	adjoin	ajoindre	OF ajoint,	3

[10] The note in the *OED* points to an 'earlier' noun **counter** (n 2), which is however only attested from 1369.

[11] The form of Latin *acculpare* is sufficiently different to suppose no direct major influence, though reinforcement is probable. A Latin form derived from OF, *accupare*, is frequently attested in British sources frequent by the thirteenth century. As it is derivative to the OF the word is maintained here. The *OED3* entry reaches the same conclusion.

[12] Latin *affidare* may have reinforced the French word, but is clearly distinct in form.

[13] The *OED* etymology compares the form also to post-classical Latin *afforciare*, apparently from French and found in British sources from c. 1300, but concludes the verb is of French origin. **Enforcen** is attested only from the second half of the fourteenth century.

[14] The *OED* says cf. post-classical Latin *affraia*, *-um*, frequent in British sources of the thirteenth century, but the third edition concludes the origin is the French noun along with the ME verb. A similar comment points to *affraiare* for the verb. As to related forms, most are later, while **fray** (n) has similar attestations in *OED* and *MED*.

[15] The *MED* gives no etymology in the entry. The base form, **graunten**, may have been reinforced by medieval Latin *grantare*, derived from French. On the use in *HS*, Gburek suggests a reading where *be* is a preposition: 'no man wyl be hyt a-graunte', meaning 'niemand will es zugeben', rather than the *OED* gloss 'promise'. Cf. Godefroy **acreanter**. The *MED* refers to **graunten**. On the whole the form **agraunten** seems to be a rare variant of **granter**/**graunten** (attested only in *HS* in the *MED* and also in Charles d'Orléans in the *OED*).

[16] There is no attestation in the *MED* for the exact use in *HS*. There seems to be some semantic development between AF and ME usage, from 'to make heavy, burdensome' to meanings such as 'disturb, distress, injure'; for the past participle *AND* does give 'oppressed' and 'grievous' cf. *MED* 'annoyed, incensed, angry'. The stem vowel distinguishes the ME and OF forms from Latin *aggravare*. The *OED3* entry also concludes the word is of French origin.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
					past ptc. of ajoindre[17]	
alas	int erj	alas	alas	alas	OF (ha) las	18
alleggen	v 2	aleggeþ	allege v 1	aleger[1]	OF alegier, alegger[18]	3
aloinen	v	aloyne	aloyn	alonger	OF aloignier[19]	1
amen	v	ayme	aim v	asmer	AN asmer, semantic and formal merger of OF aesmer and esmer	2
amendement	n	amende-ment	amendment	amende-ment	OF amende-ment	7
amenden	v	amende	amend v	amender	OF amender[20]	20
amounten	v	amounte	amount v	amunter	OF amonter, amunter[21]	9
angwisshe	n	angwys	anguish n	anguisse	OF anguisse	1
anoien	v	a-noyd	annoy v	ennoier	OF anoier	1
apeiren	v	apeyre	appair, apair	empeirer	OF empeirer[22]	2
apperen	v 1	apere	appear v	apareir	OF aper- from inf apareir	2
apperinge	ger	aperyng	appearing	–	from apperen	1
apprise	n 3	apryse	apprise n	aprise	OF aprise, gloss	2

[17] The *OED* notes that forms in <*ad-*> show remodelling after the Latin etymon. All early spellings are on the French model, showing clearly that is the major influence on the word. In the sense of *HS* the word is not attested until 1400. The attestation in 1325 is oddly French: 'We þe comaundez ant faste a ioiniez' (*Statutes of the realm*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B.520).

[18] The *OED* gives a complex etymology, which discusses semantic development and influence of Latin *allegare*; the *MED* actually gives *allegare* as alternative direct etymon. However, the *OED3* entry concludes it is of French origin.

[19] The ME forms derive from clearly French forms; Latin *alongare* is formally distinct and can have had at most a reinforcing effect.

[20] The French verb differs from the Latin in the prefix (*emendare*), while Latin *amendare* is a separate verb with different sense.

[21] Although a Latin *amuntare* is recorded in the *DMLBS*, this clearly derives from the French verb. *Amuntare* is attested in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

[22] The *OED* etymology notes that the *em-/am-* prefix 'was subseq. treated like the native *an-* before a consonant, and reduced to *a-*'; aphetic forms are also found 'as early as 1300'. The *AND* gives some forms without <-*m*> but they appear to be less common. In *HS* we have the shortened form already.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
					'lernyng'[23]	
aqueintaunce	n	aqueyn-taunce	acquain-tance	acuintance	OF acointance	1
aresounen	v	aresoned	areason v	araisuner	AN aresun- from araisnier	1
armes	n	armes	arm n 2	arme	OF armes[24]	3
armure	n	armour	armour n	armure	OF armëure, armure[25]	1
arrai	n	aray	array n	arraie	AN arai[26]	1
assai	n	a-say	assay n	assai	AN assai	1
assaillen	v	asayle	assail v 1	assaillir	OF assalir, assaillier	4
assemble	n	assemble	assembly n	assemblee	OF assemblé	1
assise	n	asyse	assize n	assise[1]	OF assise cf. syse[27]	16
assoilen	v	assoyle	assoil v	assoudre	OF assoudre[28]	7
atir	n	atyre	attire n	atir[1]	from *atiren* v	5
atiren	v	atyre	attire v 1	atirer	OF atirier	2
atteinen	v	ateynt	attain v	atteindre	OF ateign- from ataindre	3
attournen	v	aturne	aturn	aturner	OF atourner atorner[29]	1

[23] The *MED* lists three separate entries **apprise**, of which the first pertains to senses like 'deed, undertaking' and the second 'reputation'. The form in *HS* is easily identified as belonging to **apprise** (n 3), supported also by a gloss of *lernyng*. Interestingly, the single instance of *aprise* in *KA* (3524) is quoted under two entries, so with conflicting interpretations of its meaning. Smithers glosses it as 'undertaking', but a sense 'esteem' would be possible, too. Both **apprise** n 1 and 2 derive some of their uses, at least, from **emprise** 'enterprise, excellence', demonstrating the potential for semantic overlap or confusion.

[24] Latin *arma* might have had a spectral presence behind the English noun, but the consistent use of *armes* (with no singular forms) in ME shows it to be of French origin. The *OED* includes a quotation of the phrase *as armes* in Mannyng's Chronicle (162): 'Richard, "has armes!" did crie.'

[25] The spelling in *–our* is unetymological (*OED*).

[26] *Arraiare* in the *DMLBS* is derived from the French verb. In the *OED* and *MED* the verb has slightly earlier attestations than the noun (1297, not in the *MED*, and 1333 as date of a text surviving only in a later manuscript).

[27] The etymology given in the *MED* also notes that from the French form came ML *assisa*. This link is secondary, though.

[28] Cf. Durkin's comment that 'In a case such as *absolve* replacing earlier *assoil* we can be fairly certain that we have a late Middle English borrowing of classical Latin *absolvere* that comes in the course of the Early Modern period to replace entirely both the corresponding (Anglo-) French loanword *assoil* and the semi-Latinized form *absoil*' (*Borrowed Words*, p. 326).

[29] The French word is also a French formation, which passed into medieval Latin as *attornare*. Despite that I will treat the English word here as most likely primarily from French. Compare **attorn** in the *OED*,

MED		Gburek entry	*OED*	*AND*	OF form	x
auctorite	n	autoryte, auctoryte	authority	auctorité	OF au(c)torité autorité[30]	6
aumener	n 1	aumenere	almoner n 2, almner	aumoner	OF aumosnier	8
availen	v	auayle	avail	availler[1]	ME (AN) cf. *vailen*[31]	14
avaunce	n	auaunce	advance n	avance	from *avauncen* v[32]	1
avauncement	n	auaunse-ment	advance-ment	avance-ment	OF avancement	3
avauncen	v	auaunce	advance v	avancer 1	OF avanc(i)er avancier cf. avancir	10
avauntage	n	auauntage	advantage	avantage	OF avantage[33]	1
avauntement	n	auaunte-ment	avauntment	avantement	ME from *avaunten* or AN avantement[34]	4
avaunten	v	auaunte	avaunt v 1	avanter	OF avanter	4
avenaunt	n	auenaunt	avenant B	avenant	from OF avenant, from avenir[35]	3

a later ME adoption from AF, which had by then been remodelled on the Latin verb. A rare noun derived from **attournen**, **attour**, is attested in *KA*.

[30] Both *OED* and *MED* emphasise French as source of the English word, despite the currency of Latin *auctoritas* and French and ME spellings with <-*c*->. As this concerns an *OED3* entry I have followed the conclusion.

[31] **Vailen** in the *MED* shows attestations from the same time as **availen**. The form in *a-* is most likely by misinterpretation of **vailen** as an aphetic form (the *OED* lists other examples). The *AND* records show that the formation need not have taken place in ME, with attestations in AF sources from the late thirteenth century. The stem vowel is clearly distinct from Latin *valere*; the few ME spellings in <*val*-> are after 1400.

[32] The *OED* suggests this form is in part from AF. It is relatively late, with **avauncement** and **avauncing** the earlier forms. The sense used here is influenced by **avaunten** (French *(a)va(u)nter*), which is attested from 1350 (with one attestation in a text dated to 1300–1350 surviving in a later manuscript).

[33] Post-classical Latin *avantagium* was derived from the French noun, and the *OED3* entry concludes the ME word is of French origin. The earliest sense in the *MED* (the only sense with attestations in 1300–1350) is sense 2, of 'improved condition'; the attestations for *HS* are in sense 1 and 3, which are not attested until c. 1385.

[34] The *OED* entry gives the OF form as hypothetical, but the *AND* records several uses, in the right sense.

[35] Unlike the noun, the adjective is attested several times between 1300 and 1400 (*MED* **avenaunt** (adj)). The uses of the noun, including Mannyng's, appear quite close to the examples in the *AND*. A gloss meant for this word, *hauyng*, wrongly appears next to *corouns* in 3230 (Gburek).

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
aventure	n	auenture	adventure	aventure	OF aventure[36]	3
aventurous	adj	auenturs	adventurous	aventurous	OF aventuros	1
avis	n	auys	advice	avis	OF avis[37]	5
avisen	v	auysed	advise	aviser[1]	OF aviser[38]	1
avouter	n	auoutours	adulter n	avuiltre	OF avoutre[39]	1
avoutrie	n	awoutry	adultery	avulteire	OF avoutrie	2
bacin	n	bacyn	basin	bacin	bacin[40]	1
baillie	n	bayly	baillie, bailly	bailif, baillie	baillie[41]	5
baillif	n	bayle	baliff, bailie	bailif, baillie	bailli(f)	2
balaunce	n	balaunce	balance	balance	balaunce[42]	2
banere	n	baner	banner n 1	baner[1]	ban(i)ere[43]	2
baroun	n pl	barons	baron	baron	baron (nom. ber)	3
bataille	n	batayle	battle n	bataille[1]	bataille[44]	20
beaute	n	bewte	beauty	belté	beaute	2
beggen	v	begge	beg v	begger[2]	AN begger[45]	1
benisoun	n	benesun	benison	beneiçun	beneis(s)on	2
bigilen	v	begyle	beguile v	giler	ME gilen	8

[36] The *OED3* entry concludes it is of French origin. The *MED* gives the etymology as from OF and ML; the *OED* notes that the French comes from an unattested post-classical Latin noun from the future participle, though there is also a post-classical formation based on the vernacular forms. Durkin comments that 'Latin words with the prefix *ad-* regularly showed *a-* in Old French, but *ad-* was frequently restored under classicizing influence in both French and English, as for instance in *adventure* (earlier *aventure*)' (*Borrowed Words*, p. 327).

[37] The *MED* gives the etymology as from OF and ML *advisum*, which the *OED* indicates is a post-classical formation from the French. The spelling in <–*y*-> may be AF (*OED*). It is attested from 1300, although the senses in which Mannyng uses it are attested later.

[38] The *MED* gives only OF as source for word, but the *OED* has the same story about post-classical Latin formation based on French as for **avis**. The *OED3* entry concludes it is of OF origin.

[39] Although the classical Latin etymon *adulter* is given (between brackets) in the *MED* etymology, the forms in *avou-* clearly derive from French instead.

[40] The French form is clearly differentiated from the late Latin etymon *ba(c)chīnus*; the *OED* notes that a ML form *bacinus, bassinus,* modelled on the vernacular forms, also existed. The *DMLBS* entry **bacinus** indeed points to the OF form for comparison.

[41] In medieval usage this form was interchangeable with **baillif**, of which it is a slightly later, thirteenth-century, form (*OED*). Latin *balivus* was derived from the French and English words.

[42] The *MED*'s etymology prompts a comparison with late Latin *bilantia*, which the *OED* gives as etymon. The form and sense seem to have little interference from it.

[43] ML **banera** was derived from the French noun (*DMLBS*).

[44] Latin *batalia* does not seem to be recorded in the *DMLBS*. The The *OED* etymology does not suggest any direct influence from the Latin form.

[45] The origin is uncertain, with a French derivation most likely. The *OED* also refers to AF, but the *AND* seems to suggest their attestations are influenced by ME.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
					and OF guiler[46]	
bisegen	v	beseged	besiege v	asseger, cf. seger	from ME assegen from OF asegier[47]	3
bitraien	v	betrayd	betray v	trahir	from ME traien[48] from OF traïr	2
blame	n	blame	blame n	blasme	bla(s)me	11
blamen	v	blame	blame v	blasmer	bla(s)mer[49]	37
blaunchere	n	oblaun-chere	cf. blancher n 1	cf. blanchet	from ob- + ME/AN blauncher from OF blanchir[50]	1
bliche	adj	blyche	cf. bless v 2	cf. blescer	blechier (ONF), blesser (OF)[51]	1
bobaunce	n	bobaunce	bobance	bobance	bobance	4
bonairté	n	boneryte	bonairty	deboneireté	bonerté	1

[46] Attestations in the *MED* for **gilen** (v 1) and **gile** (n 3) are slightly earlier than for **bigilen**, starting c. 1200 instead of 1225. **Biwilen** and **wile** (n 1) may be variants of this in later use, although in early use they are more likely to come from ON or OE.

[47] The *DMLBS* gives one quotation (a1297) for **assegiare**, derived from the French.

[48] Attestations for **traien** are mostly later than for **bitraien** in *MED*.

[49] Although the *MED* etymological note also mentions Latin *blasphemare*, which led to a distinct ME verb **blasfemen**, attested from 1340, the form is clearly distinct, with **blamen** derived from French only and at most reinforced by the currency of the Latin verb. The *MED* citation of *HS* 4241 has a note on usage, with *for to blame* linked to *à blamer* in the source.

[50] The *MED* includes this use under **blaunchere** with a reading *o blaunchere*. Gburek points out that this presupposes an undefined <*o*> and that all three manuscripts present a single word, and suggests rather a formation of *ob* + *blaunchere* (*OED* **ob-** prefix, not recorded in the *MED*), which could have taken place in French. Formation in ME is also possible, but would instead involve a reduced form of **on** (as in *MED* **o** prep. 2). Note that the attestation in *HS* is the only one in sense a), 'cosmetic whitening powder'. The related word **blaunchet** is used in this sense in the *Lambeth Homilies* and the version of *HS* in London, Dulwich College Library, MS XXIV. The adjective **blaunche** is common in (by)names from at least the thirteenth century, though attestations on its own are from the later fourteenth century and in specialised contexts. Nevertheless, the form may have been well known and its derivatives semantically transparent at least in context, when they finally appear in the written record. The verb is only attested from 1398; **blaunchard** twice as byname, then in the later fifteenth century. The *AND* only records this exact sense for **blanchet**, found also in the *Manuel*.

[51] Mannyng's use is a *hapax legomenon*; it is formed, according to the *MED*, from **blechen**, which itself is rare in ME (attested thrice in the *Ayenbite* of 1340 and once each in 1375 and 1450). Gburek argues the sense suggested in the dictionaries ('?harmful') is wrong, suggesting a 'weich, nachgiebig' instead. In the context this points to Elias' lack of chastising his sons.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
borgh-gage	n	borghage	borrow-gage	gage[1]	OE borg + OF gauge[52]	1
bounte	n	bounte	bounty	bonté	bunté, bonté	4
bourde	n	borde	bourd	bourde[1]	bo(u)rde	4
bourden	v 1	bourded	bourd v 1	bourder[2]	bourder	1
braien	v 1	braye	bray v 1	braire	braire	1
braunch	n	braunche	braunch n	branche	branche[53]	1
cacchen	v	kaght	catch v	chacer v[1]	AN cach(i)er	1
cage	n	kage	cage n	cage	OF cage	1
cainard	n	kaynard	caynard	–	OF cagnard[54]	1
caitif	n	caytyfe	caitiff A	chaitif	AN caitif, -ive[55]	4
careine	n	careyne	carrion A	charoine	AN careine[56]	2
carole	n	karolle	carol n	carole	OF carole[57]	9
carolen	v	karolle	carol v	caroler	OF caroler	8
caroling	ger	karollyng	caroling	–	from *carolen*	1
catel	n	katel, kateyl	cattle	chatel[1]	AN catel	13
certain	adj	certeyn	certain adj etc. A	certein	OF certain[58]	27
certain	adv	certeyn	certain adj etc. C	certein	from *certain* adj. < OF certain	4

[52] In both *OED* and *MED* this word is unattested elsewhere. **Gage** (n 1) is attested from 1390 with an asterisk for c. 1300 in *KA*. The *OED* comments that the compound as used here contains the equivalent word in OE and OF.

[53] The OF form would be from late Latin *branca* 'paw of an animal' (*OED*), which is clearly distinct in sense; ME forms in <-*c*-> rather than <-*ch*-> could thus be from the OF spelling variant or from Latin. There are only two such forms in the *MED* entry. The forms in *HS* are in <-*ch*->. The *DMLBS* also records a *branchia*, based on the French noun, in the sense 'branch'.

[54] The OF etymon is not actually attested before the sixteenth century (*FEW* ***cania** gives the oldest attestation for this sense for 1520). There is no record in the *AND*.

[55] The *MED*, like Gburek, gives **caitif** as from AF; the *OED*, however, says it is an ONF form (contrasting with OF/CF *chaitif*). The *AND* has numerous spellings including both forms in <*c*-> and <*ch*-> (with *chaitif* first listed).

[56] In a similar difference to that noted at **caitif**, the *OED* says the ME form comes from ONF (contrasting with CF forms in *ch*-), while the *MED* gives AF as origin. Again, the *AND* has attestations for both types with one in *ch*- listed first.

[57] The etymology of the OF words are unclear, with the *OED* offering several possible Latin etymons, in clearly distinct senses.

[58] The *OED* notes the French form reproduces a late Latin or Romanic type *certanus*. The form of the ME would indicate borrowing from French. The *DMLBS* does not record forms in *certan*-, only of *certus* (which will have influenced the ME word, but only indirectly).

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
certain	n	certeyn	Certain, adj etc. B	certain	from *certain* adj. < OF certain[59]	12
certainli	adv	certeynly	certainly	–	from *certain* adj. < OF certain	11
certainte	n	certeynte	certainty	certeinté	OF certain(e)té	1
certes	adv	certys	certes	certes[1]	OF certes[60]	26
chacen	v	chace	chase, chace v 1	chacer[1]	OF cha(s)cier, chasser[61]	1
chaiere	n	chayre	chair n	chaere	OF cha(i)ere	3
chaine	n	chayn	chain n	chaene	OF ch(a)eine[62]	2
chalengen	v	challenge	challenge v	chalenger	OF chalanger[63]	1
champioun	n	champyons	champion n 1	champiun	OF champion[64]	1
chapele	n	chapyl	chapel n	chapele[1]	OF chapele, ML capella[65]	1
charge	n	charge	charge n	charge	OF charge	8
chargen	v	charge	charge v	charger[1]	OF charger[66]	17

[59] Several lines here are in a phrase *for certeyn* and listed by the *OED* as noun, but in *MED* as adjective. The use at 9166 is in a phrase 'hyt come to no certeyn', for which Gburek points to a similar use listed in the *MED*.

[60] The shortened form **cert** (with separate entries in *OED* and *MED*) is attested from 1300. The *MED* says of it that it is used only as a rhyme tag. The *OED* notes for **certes** that it was first disyllabic, but from 1300 could also be monosyllabic, as shown by spellings *cert* and rhyme. The forms in *HS* are disyllabic. On the role of Latin, see also **certain**.

[61] The noun is attested once before 1300 in the *MED*. The verb **cacchen** was derived from the ONF variant and is attested from 1200, already in its specialised English sense modelled on OE *laecc(e)an* (*OED*).

[62] The etymological note in *MED* mentions that the OF form came from Latin *catena*, but it is formally very different and will not have played a role in the formation of the ME noun.

[63] The noun is attested slightly later (in a text dated to 1325 surviving in a later manuscript) than the verb. In ME forms from ONF in <*c*-> alternated with those from CF in <*ch*->. The *MED* etymology points out the words are 'ultimately from L *calumniare*', but the forms appear clearly from French with no or little Latin influence.

[64] Forms with initial <*c*-> could be from Latin *campio*, but the *MED* records only two such uses, the earliest from 1390; the usual spelling in <*ch*-> is well attested before that. Neither *OED* nor *MED* mentions interference from the Latin form. The OE borrowing of *campio* gave **kemp**.

[65] The initial <*ch*-> used in *HS* suggests the word here owes more to French than to Latin.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
charite	n	charyte	charity	charité	OF charité[67]	47
charme	n	charme	charm n 1	charme	OF charme[68]	2
chartre	n 1	charter	charter n 1	chartre[1]	OF chartre[69]	7
chaste	adj	chaste	chaste adj	chaste	OF chaste[70]	13
chasten	v	chasteþ	chaste v	chastier	ME from OF chastiier[71]	2
chastien	v	chastyed	chasty	chastier	OF chastiier	4
chastisement	n	chastys-ment	chastise-ment	chastise-ment	ME from *chastisen*[72]	2
chastisen	v	chastyse	chastise	chastiser	OF (rare) chastiser[73]	13
chastisinge	n	chastysyng	chastising	–	ME from *chastisen*	5
chaumber-lein	n	chaumber-leyn	chamber-lain	chamber-lein	OF chamberlain	1
chaumbre	n	chaumbre	chamber n	chambre[1]	OF chambre[74]	5

[66] The related verb **cark** (*MED* **carken**) was based on an earlier French form *carc(i)er* and is attested in 1150 (attested in a text dated to 1125 surviving in a later manuscript), then again after 1325. (An even later French form gave **carry**.)

[67] A form in <*-ed*>/<*-eþ*>/<*-eð*>/<*-et*>, based on ONF and slightly earlier than the more commonly borrowed CF form, appears already in the *DOE* for 1137 and 1110. The popular OF form, *chierté*, was also borrowed and not always distinguished in ME. It is strangely not attested in the *MED* between 1230 and 1387, in constrast to **charity**. The use at 7153 is a personification, referred to unusually with a masculine pronoun (Gburek). None of the ME forms fully follow the Latin form; initial <*c-*> is found rarely and only in forms with the ONF ending. Although the great currency of the Latin term within religious discourse must have prompted comparison to the OF word and thus reinforced the use in ME, its form in ME derives mainly from French.

[68] Both *MED* and *OED* mention that French *charme* came from Latin *carmen*, with some overlapping senses. The Latin form may have had some reinforcing influence, but the ME is clearly derived from the French noun. There are no spellings suggestive of any direct Latin influence.

[69] The *MED* etymology mentions the French form was from Latin *cartula*, but the forms in ME clearly derive from the OF, with at most a reinforcement from the Latin noun.

[70] Both *OED* and *MED* point out that French *chaste* came from Latin *casta*, but neither gives reason to suppose Latin influence on the ME word, which appears to be attested only with initial <*ch-*> (in contrast to the AF word).

[71] OF *chasti(i)er* resulted in ME **chasten** in those areas where OE verbs in *-ian* retained that ending when *chastier* was adopted and in **chastien** in the north, where the <*-i-*> was not recognised as an ending but as a stem. The *AND* also shows forms *chaster* but without attestations of that form in CF these may be due to ME influence. As Gburek points out, none of the three uses for **chastien** in *HS* is recorded in the *MED* under that verb; one is included under **chasten**. Under **chastien**, the *MED* etymological note mentions Latin *castigare*, but there is no visible direct influence of that verb on the ME forms.

[72] The common French word was *chastiement*, although *chastisement* is attested in the *AND*. This may be a borrowing from ME. ME **chasti(e)ment** is attested from the early thirteenth century and saw some use up to 1500.

[73] The *OED* states it cannot account for the formation of **chastise**, lacking a Latin **castizare* or OF **chastiser* and being too early to have been formed from **chaste**. The *MED* mentions OF *chastiss-* as extended stem of *chastiier*. Gburek mentions the OF form is rare; the *AND* records three uses, between the late thirteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
chaunce	n	chaunce	chance n	chance	OF ch(e)ance[75]	41
chauncefulli-che	adv	chauns-fullyche	chancefully	–	from *chaunce*[76]	1
chauncel	n	chaunsel	chancel	chancel	OF chancel[77]	2
chaungen	v	chaunge	change v	changer	AN chaunger, OF changier[78]	9
chef	adj	chefe	chief adj	chef[1]	OF ch(i)ef n[79]	1
chek	n	chek	check int and n B	eschec[2]	aphetic from OF eschec[80]	2
chere	n 1	chere	cheer n	chere[1]	OF ch(i)ere[81]	5
ches	n	ches	chess n	eschec[2]	aphetic from OF pl. esche(c)s	2
chesoun	n	chesun	chesoun n	cheson[1]	aphetic from AN	1

[74] Both *OED* and *MED* note the French form (from which the ME form clearly is derived) came from Latin *camera*, which had the ME main sense from the eighth century in British sources. The development of the ME form seems solely indebted to OF, however, having at most been reinforced by possible recognition of the cognate Latin noun.

[75] The verb is not attested until the late fourteenth century and probably derived from the ME noun rather than from French. Two of the uses in *HS* are written *chauce*, without the usual stroke over it to indicate a missing <*n*>. Furnivall emends these quietly (Gburek).

[76] This form is otherwise unattested. The *MED* also records a **chancely** (two attestations from c. 1390), while *OED* also gives a **chanceful**, attested from 1591, and **chanceable**, from 1549.

[77] Latin *cancellus* is amply attested in British sources in the same sense. The ME forms show a greater debt to the OF, all having initial <*ch*>, but the forms are still of such similarity that Latin influence cannot be excluded completely.

[78] The *OED* does not acknowledge the AF influence on this form (<-*au*->), presumably since the modern form has lost this, while *MED* does. The verb has several attestations from the early thirteenth century on.

[79] Both *OED* and *MED* write that the ME adjective was formed from the ME noun, which was taken from OF. However, the adjective is attested from the same time as the noun. Gburek suggests it is from the OF noun and not from an OF adjective. The *AND* also lists the adjective, though.

[80] The ML form was *scaccus*; the ME form thus does not appear to have been influenced by it. (No forms in <-*a*-> are recorded in the *OED* or *MED*.) The sense in which Mannyng uses the word ('incident or event') is not attested otherwise until c. 1390 (twice in *Gawain*). The *MED* gives five attestations from *HS* and the *Story of England* for this sense. The *AND* entry does not record such extended uses; similarly, the entries in the *DMF* and *TLFi* do mention metaphorical uses, but these seem less detached from the context of the game of chess than many in the *OED*.

[81] The attestations listed in the *OED* suggest the extended senses of the word were not used until the late fourteenth century; the *MED*, however, has attestations for those senses from the thirteenth or early fourteenth century, including several by Mannyng. The *MED* etymology mentions Latin *cara*, but this is clearly distinct in form from all ME attestations, which follow the French model only.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
					acheson and enchesun[82]	
chevisaunce	n	cheuy-saunce	chevisance n 1	chevisance	OF chevis-(s)ance[83]	2
chois	n	choys	choice n	chois	OF chois[84]	1
cite	n	cyte	city	cité	OF cité	19
claimen	v	cleme	claim v	clamer	OF claim- from clamer[85]	1
cler	adj	clere	clear adj etc. A	cler	OF cler[86]	11
cler	adv	clere	clear adj etc. B	ler	OF cler	2
clergie	n	clergye	clergy	clergie	OF clergie	13
code	n 1	code	code n 1	code[1]	OF code[87]	1
cofre	n	cofre	coffer n	coffre	OF cofre[88]	5
cokewold	n	kokewolde	cuckold n 1	–	ME from OF *cucuald cf. LOF cucuault	3
com-mare	n	commare	cummer, kimmer	commere	from OF commère[89]	1
combraunce	n	cumbe-raunce	cumbrance	encum-brance	aphetic from OF	3

[82] The full form **enchesoun** is attested c. 1200 (also in a text dated to 1280 surviving in a later manuscript); **achesoun** is attested from 1300. The former was more common on AF and ME, according to *OED*, with the latter the common central form. Some of the *MED* attestations for **enchesoun** have the form *achesun*. Under **achesoun**, the *MED* mentions it comes from Latin *occasio(-nem)*. The forms are different enough to suppose a French origin only for the ME noun.

[83] The wide range of senses recorded in the *MED* is also noted in the *AND*. The verb **chevishen** may be attested somewhat later (only surviving in manuscripts from after 1400, though some of earlier texts).

[84] The *OED* comments that this OF word (from Germanic) replaced the native reflex *kire*, *cure* because that had become more different from the verb than the French loan.

[85] The noun seems to be attested slightly later than the verb. The ME verb is distinct from Latin *clamare* in both form and senses.

[86] The vowel of all ME attestations recorded in the *MED* points to an origin in the French word rather than Latin *clarus*, but the forms are similar enough that at least reinforcement must be considered probable.

[87] Both *OED* and *MED* note the OF form derives from Latin *codex*, but there is no indication the Latin form interfered with the English.

[88] Some related words are attested later; **cofrer** (n) is attested from the late thirteenth century in bynames. The verb is much later and is probably derived from the ME noun, as it is not found in *AND*. The reflex of Latin *cophinum* yielded **cofin**, attested in Mannyng's *Story of England* in a line that also uses *cofre* (1810).

[89] In MS Dulwich XXIV of *HS* the form is *commater*, from the Latin word. There are two attestations in the *DOE*. From the sixteenth century, the form appears more regularly, as **kimmer** or **cummer**, though apparently only in Scottish usage (*OED*). It is in rhyming position, paired with *bar*. Gburek concludes the quality of the French vowel was altered on the Latin model.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
					encom-brance and *combren* v[90]	
combre	n	kumbre	cumber n	–	ME from *combren* v and/or aphetic from *encombre* n[91]	1
combrement	n	cumbre-ment	cumber-ment	encumbre-ment	aphetic from OF *encombre-ment*, or from *combren* v[92]	3
combren	v	cumbren	cumber v	encumbrer	aphetic from *acombren*	4
combringe	ger	cumbryng	cumbering	–	from *combren*	2
comfort	n	cumforte	comfort n	confort	OF cunfort[93]	9
commaunde-ment	n	comaund-ment	command-ment	comande-ment	OF com(m)and ement	46
communalte	n	commalte	commonal-ty	communal-té	OF comunalté[94]	1
communen	v	comone	commune v	communier	OF	1

[90] The attestations for **encombraunce** are quite similar (before 1350 only in Auchinleck). **Acombraunce** is rarer, only being recorded twice in the *MED* (once in Auchinleck). There appear to be two main sets of senses, one of which is related to the devil or sin; this generally appears later though it is the sense of *HS*. However, the verb **acombren** is attested in that sense from 1275. **Encombren** is first attested in the *Story of England*, then from c. 1380; **combren** similarly is attested for 1300–1350 only in a text surviving in a later manuscript and is attested from 1375. The *MED* etymology for **combren** says it is from **acombren**, which makes sense given the pattern of attestations. It is slightly odd in that the etymon is French *encombrer* (*AND* citations contain one form in *a-*, but that form is also listed as headword). The *AND* does not appear to have any aphetic forms for **encumbrance** or **encumbrement**. The *FEW* gives as etymon a supposed Gallic ***comboros**, not Latin *incombrare*; that form would be derived from the Gallic. The *OED* disagrees.

[91] The *OED* entry shows that in the sixteenth century this aphetic form became more widely used, particularly in Scotland. The isolated use in Mannyng's works is more likely to point to his general free approach to morphological variance than to continuous usage.

[92] The *AND2* entry links to a Latin **incumbramentum** as source; but cf. the note to **combraunce** above.

[93] See note to **comforten** in Appendix 8. The *OED* notes that in *Ancrene Riwle* this noun is used 'indifferently' alongside the OE precursor, *frofor*.

[94] ML *communalitas* influenced the later form *commonality* (attested from the late fourteenth century; some late fourteenth-century quotations in the *MED* have this ending). There is no sign of a role for it in the initial adoption of the ME, though this possibility cannot be fully excluded.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
			and common v		comuniier[95]	
compaignie	n	cumpanye	company n	compaignie	OF cumpagnie [96]	10
conceiven	v	conceyued	conceive	conceivre	OF conceiv- from concevoir[97]	1
consentour	n	consentour	consenter	consentour	AN consentour, OF consentëor	1
conteinen	v	conteyneþ	contain	contenir	OF conteign- from contenir[98]	1
contek	n	cuntek	conteck n	conteck	AN contek[99]	7
contree	n	cuntre	country	contree	OF cuntrée[100]	27
cor-seint	n	corseynt	corsaint	corseint	OF cors saint	3
corage	n	corage	courage n	corage	OF corage[101]	2
cosine	n	cosyne	cousin n	cosin[1]	OF cosin(e)[102]	2

[95] The *OED* mentions the OF verb was formed on a Latin 'type' *communare*; this is not included in Du Cange or the *DMLBS*, and neither *MED* nor *OED* suggests a role for it in the formation of the ME verb.
[96] While the *MED* points only to OF, the *OED3* etymological note concludes it is of multiple origins, probably from French; two AF words influenced it, both ultimately from Latin *companium*.
[97] The noun **concepcioun** appears from around the same time, according to the *MED* from Latin, although the form is also found in the *AND* (alongside *conceivement*, which does not appear in the *MED* and in the *OED* only from the seventeenth century).
[98] The *OED* note does not suggest any influence of Latin *continēre*. The ME forms seem distinct enough to suppose only OF influence, with at most some reinforcement by the Latin verb.
[99] Although there is an OF word that looks similar enough, the semantic difference is such that generally no relation is supposed between them. Gburek details the discussion in his footnote. The *MED* states that the ME word is from AF. The *AND* citations are from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The second use in *HS*, at line 2700, is glossed *debate*.
[100] Both *OED* and *MED* mention Latin *contrata* as the origin of the OF form, but it is clearly distinct and unlikely to have been a major influence on the ME form.
[101] **Corageous** is attested from around the same time. Other related words are not attested until the fifteenth century (exept one attestation of a derivative noun in the late fourteenth century).
[102] A ML form *cosinus* did exist, but the original form was *consobrinus*. The *OED* note appears to suggest that *cosinus* may have developed from the OF form, which we may take as the main or only source of the ME word.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
cote	n 2	kote	coat n	cote[1]	OF cote[103]	7
couard	adj	coward	coward n etc.B	couard	OF couart, couarde[104]	1
couardise	n	kowardyse	cowardice	couardise	OF couardise[105]	1
counte	n 3	counte	county n 1	conté	AN counté[106]	1
countre-	n / pre f 4	countre-paye	– cf. counter-pane n 1	– (contrepan)	AN countre (pref.) + pay n; cf. contrepan[107]	1
courteis	adj , n	curteys	courteous	corteis	AN c(o)urteis, CF -ois	8
courteisie	n	curteysye	courtesy n	corteisie	AN curte(i)sie [108]	10
courteisliche	adv	curteysly	courteously	–	ME from *courteis*	2
coveiten	v	coueyte	covet	coveiter	OF coveit(i)er	7
coveitise	n	coueytyse	covetise	coveitise	OF coveitise	33
coveitise	n	coueytous	covetous 2b	coveitus (adj and n)	from *coveitous* adj and	3

[103] The *OED* mentions that a Latin *cotta* existed, attested from the ninth century, but considers an ultimately Germanic origin more likely. Likewise, the *DMLBS* derives **cota** (1) from the OF. Gburek points out that *HS* forms the earliest use of this word (present in all manuscripts and so, presumably, in the original), since the attestation in *KA* in the *OED* is only for the Lincoln's Inn MS of c1425. The *MED* however now records two attestations in the 1330s. Mannyng's remains the oldest written surviving use, but the gap is short enough that continuity must be considered probable.

[104] The noun is attested from around the same time (in a text dated to between 1250 and 1300); the verb is only used once in ME (*MED*), in *KA*; the adverb is attested from 1375; and for the noun forms of the state, see *kowardyse* below. Other derivations are post-medieval.

[105] Of the various noun forms, **couardshipe** is used once, in *AM*; **couardie** is attested from c. 1385; *couardise* from the same time but for 1300 only in texts surviving in later manuscripts (*HS* and *KA*) and 1350 (*Ywain*); and *couardnesse* from c. 1400.

[106] **Count** itself is not attested in the *MED* in ME before the fifteenth (but the entry cites Langtoft using it). The *MED* etymology includes a reference to Latin *comitatus* 'earldom', presumably because of the existence of a single ME form *comite*, attested in 1500. This Latinate form is probably a late innovation or remodelling.

[107] The corresponding line in the *Manuel* has the phrase *rendre le contrepan a* 'to get one's own back on' (*AND* **contrepan**). Gburek rightly comments that OF **contrepan** could not normally yield a form *-paye*, and that the rhyme does not allow a form with /n/. However, the compound as found in *HS* is unattested elsewhere, with no related forms to explain it, and is probably either an error for or conscious adaptation of **contrepan** after all.

[108] For this period there is not really any competition from other noun forms, such as **courteousness**, which is attested from the fifteenth century.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
					coveitise n[109]	
coveitous	adj	coueytous	covetous	coveitus	OF coveitous	9
covenaunt	n	cunnaunt	covenant n	covenant	OF covenant	21
covenaunt	adj / ppl	cunnaunt	covenant adj	convenir	past participle of *covenanten* v, from *covenant* n[110]	1
cover-chef	n	kerchyues	kerchief n	coverchef	ME from OF cuevrechief	2
coveren	v1	couerd	cover v 1	coverir	OF covrir	2
coveringe	ger 1	coueryng	covering n 1	–	from *coveren* v	2
covine	n	coueyn	covin n	covine	OF cov(a)ine[111]	2
creme	n 1	creme	cream, creme n 1	cresme	OF cresme[112]	3
crie	n 1	cry	cry n	cri	OF cri, criee[113]	11
crien	v	crye	cry v	crier[1]	OF crier	20
criing	ger	cryyng	crying n	–	from *crien* v	2
crois	n	croys	cross n	croiz[1]	OF croiz, crois cf. cros[114]	8

[109] In the current *OED* this is sense 2c (not 2b, as in Gburek), indicated as being a result of 'confusion of endings'. The *MED* has no separate entry or sense, only giving forms in *-(o)us* as 'errors'; in the attestations, however, only one of the forms given as example is actually found (for a Paston letter of ?1468) and there is an attested form *couaitus* from *Cursor Mundi* (a1400). In *LAEME*, a noun *coueitous* is recorded for after 1253. The *AND* entry **coveitus** includes four attestations for this form as noun. The use in ME may have been rare, but is thus not without parallel in AF at least.

[110] *MED* **covenaunt** (ppl) does not list the use in *HS*; there is no other adjective that could be meant. The *AND* does not indicate the existence of an adjective under either the noun or the verb. The adjective is glossed *semely* in MS B. Since there are only two other attestations for the adjective, both from the fifteenth century, Gburek comments that the use in *HS* provides a 'merkliche Vordatierung' for those.

[111] The OF and ME forms are clearly distinct from Latin *convenium*; cf. ME **convenen**, for which the *MED* gives Latin *convenire* as main source.

[112] The ME forms all folow the OF type, without <*s*>, in contrast to Latin *chrisma*, of which no direct influence is noticeable in the ME noun. **Cream** (n 2) has similar attestations, starting at 1332.

[113] The noun is attested at least twice in the Otho *Brut*, which differs from Caligula both times (the *MED* notes Calligula has *weop* and *luden*).

[114] In late OE (next to *cruc* from Latin, giving ME **crouche**) a form *cros* derived from ON was used in the north of England and remained alongside the southern form, AF-derived *crois*, superseding it by the end of the Middle Ages. ME attestations in texts for **cros** and **crois** are similar, both starting early, but **cros** is found in numerous place- and bynames in the twelfth century too (the *OED* notes that Wace explains the

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
croket	n	croket	crocket n 1	crochet	AN croket[115]	2
cronicle	n	kronykeles	chronicle n	cronike	OF cronicle[116]	1
custome-houses	n	custome-houses	–	–	see *custume* and *hous*[117]	1
custumable	adj	custumma-ble	customable	custumable	OF custumable	6
custumable	adv	custumma-ble	customable 1b	–	from *custumable* adj[118]	1
custumabli	adj	custumma-bly	–	–	from *custumable* adj	1
custumabli	adv	custumma-bly	customably	–	from *custumable* adj	6
custume	n	custome	custom n	custume	OF custume[119]	12
custumer	adj	custummer	customer adj	custumer[1]	OF coustumier	1
damage	n	dammage	damage n	damage	OF damage[120]	1
dame	n	dame	dame	dame[1]	OF dame (see *ma-dame*)	3
daun	n	dane	dan n 1	dan[2]	AN daun, CF dan[121]	3

English use of *olicrosse* as battle cry c. 1176). The ON form is the only one used in either manuscript of the *Brut*, judging from *MED* citations.

[115] The <-*k*-> spelling is AF, according to *OED*, with the form *croquet* in ONF. The *AND* also gives other spellings and cites the *Manuel* (line 3337), in the only attestation for sense 2, 'head-dress, hair style'. It is glossed *chaplet* in *HS*.

[116] Related words are similar or later in attestations. Latin *c(h)ronica*, although its influence can be seen in some of the forms in the *AND*, seems to have left no direct mark on the ME noun.

[117] The compound is attested from the late fifteenth century, albeit in a Latin context (after *le*, which often signals a switch to a word in an unspecified vernacular) (*OED* **custom-house**, n).

[118] Gburek calls for further study of the ways in which ME adverbs could end in *-(ab)le*, a frequent occurrence in *HS*. He posits that one factor behind this could be the coalescence of adverbial and adjectival forms as OE *-lic* and *-lice* both could become *-ly*. Cf. **penible** and **falsle** (adv).

[119] The *OED* etymology mentions post-classical Latin *custuma* only in the comparison with other languages at the end of its lengthy discussion. The *DMLBS* suggests the Latin use may derive from the OF. At the noun **custumer** the *MED* etymology also points to AL *custumarius*. While this base word is attested quite early, none of the related forms is attested before *HS*, often barely before 1400. The range of forms after 1400 also suggests the derivations were not firmly established, though their base meaning would have been clear.

[120] The *OED* etymology also mentions a form *dam(p)nage* 'after medieval Latin', presumably explaining the presence of the <*p*>. The *MED* includes as its only thirteenth century attestation an AF use in Britton, *On the laws of England* (c1290).

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
daunce	n	daunce	dance n	dance	OF dance	4
dauncen	v	daunce	dance v	dancer[2]	OF dancer, danser	3
daungerous	adj	daungerous	dangerous	dangerus	AN dangerous [122]	2
daunten	v	daunte	daunt v	danter	OF daunter[123]	5
debonaire	adj / n	dubonure	debonair B	deboneire	AN debonere	1
deceite	n	deseyt	deceit n	deceit	AN deceite[124]	2
deceivable	adj	deseyuable	deceivable	deceivable	AN deseyvable	1
deceiven	v	dysceyue	deceive	deceivre	AN deceiv- from deceveir	6
decre	n	decre	decree n	decré	OF decré[125]	3
defaute	n	defaute	default n	defaute	OF defaute	15
defoulen	v	defouled	defoul, defoil	defuler	OF defouler[126]	1
degre	n	degre	degree n	degré[1]	OF degré[127]	6
deinen	v 1	deyneþ	deign	deigner[1]	OF	1

[121] Despite the *OED*'s repetition of this distinction between AF and CF forms, the *AND* records a range of forms, both in <*a*> and <*au*> and with various endings, but not the exact spelling used in *HS* (not in the quotations either).
[122] The use at line 8620 is substantive. There is no parallel usage recorded in the *OED* or *MED* (Gburek).
[123] The *OED* and *MED* etymologies mention that the origin of the OF form is Latin *domitare*, which is formally very different from the OF and ME forms, so that any influence on the ME is improbable.
[124] The role of Latin *decepta* appears to have been superficial: the *OED* notes spellings with <*p*> in OF and, following those, ME, but asserts this was never pronounced. In spoken language the distinction with the Latin form would have been clear, but not in writing; at least occasional association of the forms is therefore evidenced, though only from 1393 onwards, with the numerous earlier attestations modelled on the OF form only. As a result, we cannot conclude with certainty that the Latin word was in no part responsible for the establishment of the word in ME, but we seem to be dealing with a later remodelling on Latin of a word originally introduced from French. For **deceiven** the distance between the Latin and OF verbs is greater, though those versed in both Latin and French recognised the similarity, as again shown by occasional fifteenth-century spellings containing <*p*>. The word is attested in 1325 and 1350, but not in the senses used by Mannyng, which are only attested from 1370 or later. Attestations for the verb are similar.
[125] The ME comes from a variant form of the OF word that lost the final <*t*>; as such any primary influence of Latin *decretum* can be ruled out.
[126] The *OED* senses 6–8 arose, the entry comments, from association of the OF senses 'trample in the mud' and 'violate chastity' with the ME **foul** (adj, n, adv). Also see **defile**. The *MED* similarly notes the verb is a 'blend of foulen (1) and OF defoler; also cp. fullen (2)'. Of these, **foulen** (1) is attested first in *HS* and then after 1350; the *MED* entry cites *HS* 5989 under sense 4, which is derived in part from *defouler*; while **fullen** (2) is also from ML *fullare* and is not attested for certain before 1400. Hence, **defoulen** is maintained in this list.
[127] Many of the senses of the modern word were already in use in ME. Before 1340 it is attested only the first two senses, though ('step' and 'stage of advancement'). The various senses are also attested in AF.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
					deignier[128]	
deis	n	dese	dais	deis[1]	AN deis[129]	2
delaie	n	delay	delay n	delai	OF delai[130]	3
delaien	v 1	delayde	delay v 1	delaier	OF delaier[131]	2
delitable	adj	delytable	delitable	delitable	OF delitable[132]	1
delite	n 1	delyte	delight n	delit	OF delit	7
deliten	v	delyte	delight v	deliter	OF delitier	11
deliveren	v	delyuer	deliver v 1	deliverer	OF delivrer[133]	5
depeinten	v	depeynte	depaint v	depeindre	OF depeint from depeindre[134]	2
deraie	n	dray	deray n	desrei	AN de(s)rai[135]	1
descrien	v	dyscrye	descry v 1 cf. descry v 2	descrire	OF descrier cf. *descriven*[136]	1

[128] The *MED*'s etymology gives both OF *deignier* and '(esp. in sense 2) L dignari'. Presumably the Latin influence would especially be for the forms in <*dign-*>, with a clear French role for those in <*de(i)gn-*>. In the only sense with such spellings, 2 ((a) To judge (sb.) to be worthy, consider worthy; (b) to consecrate (a church), dedicate (to sb.)) the word is only attested after 1400. The verb is therefore maintained here.

[129] This word is attested as a byname in 1272 and in a Latin text of a1259 quoted in the *OED*, 'quam 'Deis' vulgariter appellamus'; of course *vulgariter* could well refer to French too.

[130] All uses of the noun in *HS* are in the phrase *maken delai* 'delay, waste time'. The *AND* records *prendre delai*, 'to be delayed', *mettre en delai* 'withhold', *estre en delai* 'to be saved for later' and *faire ses delais* 'take advantage of one's lawful delays'. Only this last one uses an equivalent for *maken,* but in a clearly specialist sense. There is a phrase *faire delaiment* 'delay', though, recorded under that noun. *MED* sense 1b 'pause in battle' or 'stop in a journey' is not specified in the *AND*, but it is not attested until after 1400.

[131] The various senses given in the *MED* are all also present in the *AND* entry. The use in *HS* cited in the *MED* (from line 196) is clearly in a sense not attested otherwise before 1393 (Gower), 'withhold'.

[132] There is only one certain attestation for 1300 followed by an attestation in a Rolle text dated to 1340 but surviving in a later manuscript. The word seems to become quite common in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. **Delectable** represents the more learned French form, identical with the Latin, which was popular in ME from the fifteenth century.

[133] This verb has a wide variety of senses already in ME, with several attested from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century; the *AND* records a similar array. The noun **deliveraunce** and the gerund are attested slightly later, from the early fourteenth century.

[134] Some of the senses given in the *MED* seem either slightly awkward uses or extended semantically, as in early 'inscribe' (with blood, translating *descripsi* — the *Ancrene Riwle* attestation) or late 'color vividly' or 'discolor'.

[135] In Furnivall, the reading is *a-dray*, which to Gburek suggests his lack of recognition of the word. This led to the *OED* deriving the word from OE in an earlier version. The entry **adray** has now disappeared and the *HS* quotation is included under **deray**, as in the *MED*.

[136] Although the *MED* mentions that the OF word came from Latin *describere*, its form can be well distinguished, as can the resulting ME form. Only very late ME saw the arrival of **describen** from the Latin (first attested 1450). Durkin comments that it is not clear whether later **describe** is a case of remodelling or replacement of the earlier form (*Borrowed Words*, p. 326). Gburek discusses the

MED		Gburek entry	*OED*	*AND*	OF form	x
descriven	v	dyscryue	descrive	descrire	OF descrivre cf. *descrien*	2
desert	n 1	desert	desert n 1	deserte[1]	OF desert(e) (‘verdienst’) [137]	2
desir	n	desyre	desire n	desir	OF desir	4
desiren	v	desyreþ	desire v	desirer[2]	OF desirer[138]	4
desiringe	ger	desyryng	desiring	–	from *desiren* v	1
despisen	v	despyce	despise v	despire	OF despis- from despire, despisier[139]	3
despit	n	despyte	despite n	despit	OF despit	5
dette	n	dette	debt n	dette	OF dette[140]	1
devis	n	dyuys	device	devise	OF devis[141]	1
devisen	v	dyuysed	devise v	deviser	OF deviser, di-	2
dignite	n	dygnyte	dignity	digneté	OF dignité	4
dinen	v 2	dyne	dine v	disner[1]	OF diner[142]	1
diner	n	dyner	dinner n	disner[1]	OF diner	5

development of these verbs in some detail, suggesting that the *MED*’s ascription of a sense ‘describe’ for the form *dyscrye* in *HS* is wrong.

[137] The sense under which the *MED* groups the *HS* quotations is not attested until 1390.

[138] The *OED* mentions a ‘Romance type *desirare*’, shortened from Latin *desiderare*. The *DMLBS* refers entries in <*desir-*> to <*desid-*>, but does not comment on or give quotations for the shorter form. Some role for this Latin use in the formation of the ME word cannot be excluded, but it is not now visible.

[139] The *AND* records no forms in <-*ice*> (also not in the concordance), while *OED* mentions an OF form in <*despiç-*>. The popular OF form was *despir*, with a stem *despis-*; a form modeled on Latin *despicere* did exist as well, *despiser* (given as variant form in *AND*). The exact impact of the Latin on the ME word is hard to judge, but no direct link is evident. The noun **despit** is from the French form, derived from the past participle of *despicere*. Influence of Latin *despectum* cannot be fully ruled out, but is not evident in the ME forms. Multilingual speakers are likely to have been aware of a similarity in form and meaning, but there are no signs of actual coalescence of the Latin and OF forms.

[140] The *MED* credits Latin *debitum* with a direct role in the formation of the ME noun. The *OED* only points to it as etymon of the OF and mentions that spellings with <-*bt*>, taken from a French remodelling on the Latin form (attested in this form from the mid-thirteenth century in the *AND*), was the main spelling from the sixteenth century. In the *MED*, attestations for such ME spellings are only from c1400. There does not seem to be a direct influence of the Latin form on the early ME use. The existence of a Latin form *deta*, modelled presumably on the French, is noted in Du Cange. In most senses this word is attested only from 1300; the early use is in the theological sense. **Dettour** is attested in the period 1200–1250, like **dette**, but not in 1250–1300. For **dettour** a Latinate spelling is not recorded until after 1400.

[141] The *OED* gives a detailed account of the entanglement of OF *devis* and *devise*; the *MED* and *AND* appear to have conflated them into single entries. For the verb, a ML form *divisare* is recorded in the *DMLBS*; it is compared to the French verb and is probably secondary to it.

[142] The *OED* comments that ML *disnare* was derived from the OF form.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
disconfiten	v	dyscumfyte	discomfit v	descomfire	OF desconfit from desconfire	1
disgisen	v	dysgyse	disguise v	deguiser	OF desguis(i)er [143]	4
disheritesoun	n	dysheresun	disherison n	disherison	OF desheri-taison[144]	2
dismaien	v	dysmay	dismay v 1	desmaier	ME from AN desmaier from OF dies- and esmaier[145]	1
disour	n	dyssour	disour	disor	OF disour[146]	1
disport	n	dysport	disport n	desport	AN disport[147]	2
distourblen	v	dysturble	disturble	desturber[1]	OF desto(u)r-bler cf. *distroublen*, *stourblen*	8
distourblinge	ger	dystur-blyng	–	–	from *distourblen*	1
distresse	n	destresse	distress n	destresce	OF destresse[148]	3
distroublen	v	destruble	distrouble v	desturber[1]	OF destroubler [149] cf.	3

[143] The nouns **disgise** and **gise** and the adjective **disgise** have similar attestations.
[144] The *AND* has a separate entry for **disherison** that links to **dishériteson**.
[145] The *OED* and *MED* indicate OF forms *amaier* and *esmaier*, with probably a form in <*des*->. The *MED* notes that form may have originated in AF or ME. Attestations for **amaien** are similar to **dismaien**, while **esmaien** is rarer and later; there is also a shortened form **maien**, attested a few times from 1280. The only morphological relative in use in ME is the verbal noun in *-ing*. The *AND* includes an entry for **desmaier**, with only a single quotation (text dated to before 1282, manuscript fourteenth century).
[146] The ME word seems to have narrowed semantically compared to the AF, for which the *AND* also gives senses like 'arbiter', 'judge' and 'herald'.
[147] The *OED* and *MED* suggest the form in *dis-* represents an AF form. The *AND* gives the form in *des-* as headword but includes the spelling in *dis-* as variant. The *MED* also points to AL *disportum*; the entry is **disporta** in the *DMLBS*, with the parallel French form mentioned and no older Latin form. This Latin form thus seems to be secondary to the French.
[148] Etymologically, the related verb is **distrain**, attested from 1300; **distress** as a verb is attested from 1380.
[149] The *AND* does not record this verb in any spelling (also not in quotations), nor the variant *distourblen* > *desto(u)rbler*. Gburek argues that **destroublen** is found only in MS H of *HS*, and must be an adaptation

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
					distourblen, *stourblen*	
ditour	n pl	dytours	diter	ditur	AN ditour[150]	1
dol	n 2	doyle	dole, dool, dule n 2	duel	OF do(e)l[151]	2
doute	n	doute	doubt n	dute	OF doute[152]	19
douten	v	doute	doubt v	duter[1]	OF douter	6
dragoun	n	dragun	dragon n 1	dragon	OF dragon[153]	13
dressen	v	dresse	dress v	drescer	OF drecier	1
emperour	n	emperoure	emperor	emperur	OF empereor, AN (obliquus) empereur[154]	7
enamoured	adj	a-namourd	enamour cf. enamoured	enamouré	OF s'enamourer [155]	1
encens	n	ensense	incense n	encens	OF encens[156]	1
encensen	v 1	ensense	incense v 1	encenser[2]	OF encenser	2
enchesoun	n	enchesun	encheason	achaisun	OF enchaison[157]	22

by its scribe. **Distourblen** would have been the only form used by Mannyng. Since the *MED* now gives *HS* as earliest attestation for both, accounting for this reveals that **distourblen** is the older form in ME.

[150] The ending in *-our* appears to be the AF feature. The senses given in the *AND* are limited to those of narrator, author and writer and do not include indictor, which is how Mannyng uses the word. This is probably a shortened form of **enditour**, which also has both senses in ME. Again though the legal sense is not attested before the very late fourteenth century except in Mannyng. The verb **diten** is attested from 1325.

[151] This is glossed *sorowe* at 6910.

[152] Forms with a <*b*>, after Latin *dubitare*, appear only from the fifteenth century for both verb and noun, and are a clear case of remodelling.

[153] The *MED* gives Latin *draco* as additional etymology; the form in <*-gon*> suggests a dominant French influence.

[154] The Latin form *imperator* did not form a major influence on the shape of the ME word, though its currency may have reinforced the term indirectly.

[155] Du Cange and the *DMLBS* record a form *inamorari, inamorare*, with only medieval attestations.

[156] I have maintained this word in this list because until the late fifteenth century all forms in the *MED* are in <*en-*>,< *an-*> in contrast to Latin *incensum*. The verb similarly is only attested with French-derived spellings before 1425.

[157] The *OED* states that the form *encheson* was later and more popular in AF (and English), while earlier *acheson* was more popular in CF. Both *OED* and *MED* have separate entries for the two forms. The *OED* includes the attestations from the *Ancrene Riwle* under **achesoun**, but the *MED* has them under **enchesoun**. The attestations are similar except for the *Ancrene Wisse* ones. The *MED* mentions the ultimate origin in Latin *occasionem*, which however cannot be said to have had any direct influence on this ME form.

MED		Gburek entry	*OED*	*AND*	OF form	x
encombre	n	encumbre	encumber n	encumbrer	OF encombre cf. *combren*[158]	1
encombren	v	encumbred	encumber v	encumbrer	OF encombrer [159]	1
enditement	n	endytement	indictment	enditement	AN enditement [160]	1
enditen	v	endyte	indict v 1, indite v	enditer	AN enditer[161]	3
enemi	n	enmye	enemy n A	enemi	OF *enemi*[162]	8
enoiling	ger	anoylyng	anoiling	–	from OF *anoilier*	1
enointen	v	a-noynt	anoint adj	enoindre	OF *enoint*, ppl of *enoindre*	2
enointing	ger	a-noyntyng	anointing	–	from *enointen*[163]	3
ensaumple	n	ensample	ensample n	essample	AN ensample cf. *saumple*[164]	22

[158] The *AND* only records the verb and the infinitive used substantially. **Encombrement** and **encombraunce** are both attested from 1300 (in Auchinleck).

[159] The *OED* notes that the figurative uses are far earlier in English than the literal ones. There was a Latin *incombrare* in similar senses; the *OED* suggests this as etymon for the OF verb, while the *DLMBS* also points to the French word in its entry for the Latin (which is frequently attested). Presumably they reinforced one another. The remaining words in this word group are based on French only much more clearly, except for **encombre** next to Latin *incumbrum* (not listed in the *DMLBS*, but noted in Du Cange).

[160] The *OED* distinguishes between **indictment** and **inditement**, linking the latter to the *MED* entry, which however has both senses. The same applies to the entries for the verb, **indite** and **indict**.

[161] The *MED* also gives an AL *indictare*, but the *OED* notes this is probably only from the French, and the consistent spelling in <*en-*> suggests a dominant role of the French form. The legal sense 'indict' appears to be an insular development with no recorded parallel on the continent. Mannyng uses both this sense and the basic sense 'compose' (although the first is not cited from *HS* in the *MED*). The legal sense seems to be only slightly later in the *MED*, but the first attestation is not until 1340. The legal senses in the *AND* are only attested in the fourteenth century (with one attestation in a twelfth-century text in a fourteenth-century manuscript). The noun is not attested in the *MED* until 1390 (Chaucer), but in the *AND* from the late thirteenth century. Unlike the other words in this morphological family, **enditement** retains only the legal sense.

[162] There is no indication of a direct influence of Latin *inimicus* on the ME noun.

[163] Klaus Bitterling explains that Mannyng's three uses of **anointing** are all in the passage on the third Grace of Shrift, and mistranslate AF *anoitement* 'increase' (as does Laird, while Arnould accurately summarised the passage). This may be due to a fault in the version of the *Manuel* used ('"Anoyntyng" in Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne*,' *Notes and Queries* 26 (1979), 8–9).

[164] Both *OED* and *MED* differentiate **asaumple** and **ensaumple**, with **asaumple** attested earlier. The *AND* includes both spelling sets in one entry. **Exaumple** is attested from 1382; **saumple** is first attested

MED		**Gburek entry**	*OED*	*AND*	**OF form**	**x**
entente	n	entent	intent n	entente[1, 2, 3]	OF entente cf. *tente*, *attente*[165]	13
entering	ger	enteryng	interring	–	ME from OF enterrer[166]	1
enticement	n	entycement	enticement	enticement	OF enticement	1
enticen	v	entycedest	entice	enticer	OF enticier cf. *ticen*[167]	1
entre	n	entre	entry	entree	OF entrée[168]	3
envie	n	enuye	envy n	envie	OF envie[169]	40
envious	adj 1	enuyus	envious	envius	AN envi(o)us (CF envi(e)us)[170]	13
escapen	v	askape	escape, ascape	eschaper	ONF ascaper[171]	2
ese	n	ese	ease n	eise	OF eise, aise cf. *misese*	5

for 1300–1350, but only in a later manuscript. With the possible exception of later **exaumple**, these forms are very distinct from Latin *exemplum*.

[165] See comment at **encense** for the role of Latin; for **atent** see above (attested from 1250). As with the group **saumple**, **asaumple** and **ensaumple**, the way in which different dictionaries decide which are variant spellings and which are separate words is not consistent and highlights the prolems involved in delineating specific words.

[166] For **enteren**, the *MED* also mentions ML *interrare*. The *OED* does not suggest direct influence of this form but mentions its replacing classical *inhumare*. The *MED* spelling variants list a form in <*in-*>, but no such form is included in the quotations. Although a possible role for the ML form cannot be excluded, then, I have tentatively maintained this word here. The *OED* quotes Mannyng's use, but in brackets, while the *MED* does not give it and has attestations starting at 1389. **Enterrement** is attested from 1300 onwards (also in *AM* from Auchinleck); the verb is later. The *MED* entry wrongly links through to the *OED* entry **entering**.

[167] **Atisen** is called a parallel form in the *OED* (though it has a different etymology), but is only attested in the fifteenth century. For **tisen** (*OED* **tice** v) the *OED* notes that it is the shortened form of these others, but it is found earlier than either and was perhaps taken directly from OF *a-tiser*, dropping the prefix. The *MED* adds to this that it is taken from AF *ticer*, an insular variant. The *MED* attestations actually make **tisen** slightly later than **entisen**, though. Mannyng uses the verb in the extended semantic sense 'to lure', but uses the noun in the (now extinct) sense 'to instigate'. The *AND* records both senses for both verb and noun.

[168] The verb **entren** (also *enter*) is attested from 1275.

[169] The *MED* etymology notes 'cp. L *invidia'*, but the OF and ME forms are clearly distinct from this.

[170] Two of the uses in *HS* are substantive, Gburek notes (3984 and 8619).

[171] See the *OED* entry for **escape** (v) for discussion of the relation of the many different forms of this and related verbs. The *MED* entry **escapen** links to the *OED* entry **aschape**, though the *MED* combines both spellings into a single entry. The forms from ONF *ascaper* (used here in *HS*) and aphetic forms were the earliest types in ME. An aphetic form is found among the variants in *HS* too, and included under the *MED*'s separate entry for **scapen** (v 1).

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
esquaimous	adj	esquay-mous	esquay-mous	escoimus	AN escoymous[172]	1
estat	n	astate	astate, estate n	estat	AN astat cf. state[173]	1
estre	n	estre	estre	estre[2]	OF estre[174]	1
face	n	face	face n	face	OF face[175]	6
fade	adj	fade	fade adj 2	fade	OF fade cf. to-fade[176]	1
faden	v	to-fade	–; see fade v 1 (4)	–	ME to-, OF fader[177]	1
faile	n	fayle	fail n 2	faille	OF faille[178]	8
failen	v	fayle	fail v	faillir	OF faillir	14
fauchoun	n	fauchoun	falchion n	fauchun	OF fauchon	1
faute	n	faute	fault n	faute	OF faute cf. *defaute*	1
feble	adj	feble	feeble	feble	OF *feble*[179]	6
feblenesse	n	febylnesse	feebleness	–	ME from *feble*	1
febling	ger	feblyng	–	–	from *feble* or AN *feblir*[180]	1
feint	adj	feynt	faint adj	feint	OF feint, ppl of feindre	4
feintise	n	feyntyse	faintise	feintise	OF feintise[181]	3

[172] As the *OED* notes, there are several closely related forms. **Squaimous** is attested from 1300; **quaimous** only from 1430 and remains rare. Since **esquaymous** is attested only once it is probably just a variant of **squaimous**, albeit a slightly more French variant in maintaining initial <*e*->. The *AND* does not give any forms without initial <*e*->.

[173] As *OED* and *MED* note, the forms of type *state* are likely to derive directly from Latin *status* while forms in <*a*-> or <*e*-> are probably from French, like here. Some general influence of the Latin word cannot be excluded.

[174] A lot of the quotations in this *MED* entry are from either *HS* or the *Story of England*. It is glossed *tounne* in *HS*. At 10585 it has the sense 'lodgings'.

[175] The *MED* also points to Latin *facies*, ML *facia*. The ME forms, all of type 'fas, faz, face' point more to French than Latin. The *OED3* entry concludes it is of French origin. The use in *HS* at 10229 may be a later modification (see Gburek, on Furnivall's emendation).

[176] The sense in which Mannyng uses the word ('feeble') is only attested in a manuscript c1400 with a text dated to c1350.

[177] The use in *HS* is not included under **faden** (v 1) as quotation; in the entry for **alto** adv the same reading as in the edition is given, however, with a note that it could be interpreted as *al to-fade* too.

[178] All uses of the noun are in the phrase *withouten faile* (886, 1621, 2241, 4069, 7218, 7365, 11393), except for *sauȝ faile* (6023). There is no OF equivalent in the immediate context in the *Manuel*.

[179] The OF word was a variant of Latin *flebilis*; the change is clear enough that all ME forms can be said to clearly derive from OF, which must thus have been the far stronger influence.

[180] Gburek added an asterisk to *feblir*, indicating it was not attested, but the *AND* has an entry **feblir**.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
feith	n	fey, feyþ	fay n 1, faith n	fei[1]	AN fei, fai / feid[182]	9
fel	adj	felle	fell adj etc. A	felun[1]	OF fel	1
felliche	adv	fellyche	felly adv	–	from *fel* adj	2
felonie	n	felonye	felony n 1	felunie	OF felonie, felunie	11
feloun	n 1	felun	felon adj etc. B	felun[1]	from *feloun*, adj	9
feloun	adj	felun	felon adj etc. A	felun[1]	OF felon	5
felounliche	adv	felunlyche	felonly	–	from *feloun*, adj[183]	7
felouns	adj	felons	–	felun[1]	OF felons	1
felounsli	adv	felunsly	–	–	from *felouns*, adj	1
flecchen	v	flycche	flecche	flechir	OF flechir	1
floren	n	florens	florin	florin	OF florin	1
foisoun	n	foysyn	foison n	fuison	OF foison	1
fol	n	fole	fool n etc. A	fol[1]	OF fol, n[184]	8
fol	adj	fole	fool n etc. B	fol[1]	OF fol, adj	2
fol-hardi	adj	fole-hardy	foolhardy	folhardi	OF fol hardi	5
foli	adj	foly	folly adj etc. A	–	ME from *folie* n and *fol* n	13
folie	n	foly	folly n 1	folie[1]	OF folie	80
folili	adv	folylyche	follily	–	ME from *foli* adj	2
folt	n	folte	folt n	folet[1]	OF folet[185]	1
folted	adj	folted	folt v	–	ME from *folt*	1

[181] Other forms are similar or later in attestations; **feintise** interestingly is attested first in senses like 'deceit' and only as 'feebleness' from 1375.

[182] The *OED* has two entries, with the explanation '*Feith*, *faith n.* and *int.* was the original, and became the ordinary, English form: but *fey*, *fay* also passed into English from contemporary French *a*1300, and was for a time almost as common as the earlier form, especially in certain senses, and in phrases such as *par fay*, *by my fay* = Old French *par fei*, *par ma fei*.' It links to a *DOE* entry that is unsure about the status as OE, based on a single attestation in a thirteenth-century homily/gloss. Gburek also gave separate entries, *fey* and *feyþ*. The comment in the *OED* that *feith* is earlier seems based only on two quotations surviving in later manuscripts of texts dated to 1250.

[183] A lot of the quotations in the *MED* entry are from Mannyng's works.

[184] Although developed from Latin *follis*, the OF words are distinct semantically, and the ME usage follows the OF only. A later Latin *follus* was derived from the French (*DMLBS*).

[185] This word was very unusual in ME, but the reading is confirmed by its being in rhyming position at 8299 (Gburek). The form *folted* is at 5837.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
forbarren	v	forbarreþ	forbar, forebar	forbarrer	AN forbarrer[186]	4
force	n	fors	force n 1	force[1]	OF force	8
forein	n	foreyne	foreign adj etc. B	forein	from OF forain adj[187]	2
foundour	n 1	founder	founder n 2	fundur[1]	AN fundur, OF fondeor[188]	1
fraunchise	n	fraunchyse	frenchise n	franchise	OF franchise[189]	5
frere	n	frere	friar n	frere	OF frere	25
fruit	n	fruyt	fruit n	frut	OF fruit[190]	7
gile	n 3	gyle	guile n	gile	OF guile	10
gilen	v 1	gyle	guile v	giler	OF guiler	2
gise	n	gyse	guise n	guise	OF guise	5
grace	n	grace	grace n	grace	OF grace	101
graunten	v	graunte	grant v	granter	OF granter cf. *agraunten*[191]	66
hardi	a	hardy	hardy adj	hardi	OF hardi cf. *fol-hardi*	5
heritage	n	erytage	heritage n	heritage	OF (h)eritage[192]	4
manere	n	manere	manner n 1	manere[1]	AN manere[193]	50
manuele	n	manuel	manuel	manuel	OF manuel[194]	4

[186] **Barren** is attested from 1300 (once in a manucript of a1325 of a text dated to c1280).
[187] The adjective is attested earlier, several times in the period 1300–1350 (of which one instance is of a text dated to 1250). Gburek discusses the context and exact meaning, concluding it is shortened from 'foreign woman' as synonym for 'common woman', i.e. prostitute.
[188] The *MED* etymological note points out that the OF form derived from Latin *fundator*; this seems distinct enough in form to disregard here; it is more than a spelling difference. For the verb, the influence of Latin *fundare* will probably have been stronger. It (**founden** v2) is attested in several texts from 1300.
[189] ML *franchisa* (*DMLBS*) was probably derived from the OF form. The *OED* also notes its existence, without commenting on a possible direct influence on the ME.
[190] As with **foundour**, I think the Latin form is too distinct to be seen as a direct influence on the ME word, though its currency will have helped the adoption of the OF word.
[191] The adjective occurs in *HS* only as *graunte merci*. Some *HS* manuscript forms appear to be without <*n*> or <*u*> (difference impossible to ascertain) and lack the usual sign of abbreviation.
[192] The OF noun is different enough from Latin *hereditagium* that no influence of the Latin on the ME word need be supposed, though it may have reinforced the usage.
[193] Gburek draws attention to a syntactical peculiarity: the singular of this noun is used frequently after words like *all*, *many* and *these*.
[194] The *OED3* entry concludes this is of French origin. Gburek discusses the relevance of the fact that Mannyng only uses the word to refer to his French source. Attestations confirm that this was probably the earliest use in English, or at least not integrated. The *MED* still does not record the use, quoting texts from 1432 and later. Mannyng's explanation of the word should not, however, be taken as evidence for its

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
maumet	n	maumet	maumet	mahumet	OF mahumet	5
messager	n	messager	messenger	messager	OF messager	5
mountaine	n	mounteyne	mountain	muntaine	OF muntaine	3
nointen	v	noyted	noint v	–	from *enointen*[195]	1
paien	v	pay	pay v 1	paier	OF payer	21
passen	v	passe	pass v	passer[3]	OF passer	15
pes	n	pes	peace n	pes	AN pes	11
pesen	v	pes	pease v	peser[1]	OF paiser	2
phisicien	n	fysycyene	physician	phisicien	OF fisicien[196]	1
prive	adj 1	pryue	privy A	privé	OF privé	12
povre	adj [197]	pore, poure, pere	poor n etc.	povre[1]	OF poure, povre	83
proud[198]	adj	proud	proud adj	pru	OF pru	19
sacre	n 2	sacre	sacry	sacrer	ME from OF secré, ppl of sacrer[199]	5
sacrifien	v	sacryfyed	sacrify	sacrefier	OF sacrifier[200]	1
sauf	adj	saufe	safe adj	salf	OF sauf,	2

lack of integration, for other words he explains were long attested or derived from OE. It rather shows 'dass der Vf. das Niveau seines eingangs des Werkes beschriebenen Adressaten stets vor Augen hatte' (405).

[195] Gburek assumes the form *noyted* is a mistake for -*noint*, similar to the form of *a-noyntyng* without second <*n*>. He argues it is not a regular variant but was a form unknown to the scribe; in MSS B and F it was replaced by **smeren**, the very word derivatives of OF *enoindre* replaced in these specialist senses. The *OED* notes that forms in *a*(*n*)- are an AF or ME innovation, while the form **nointen** consequently resulted from mistaken identification of *a*- as the prefix.

[196] The *OED* mentions there is a post-classical Latin form *physicianus*, attested in 1391 in a British source. Neither dictionary suggests any influence of this form on the ME word.

[197] Many are used substantively. The form *pere* is explained by Gburek as an attempt to reinstate rhyme with *recouere*, where the original rhyme had been *povre–recovre*.

[198] According to the *MED*, the influence of OE forms of the type *pryt* on this adjective in ME was very slight. The noun and adjective on the whole however were well established in (late) OE. The *OED3* concludes it is mainly of French origin.

[199] The *HTOED* only suggests **sacring** as an earlier form. This word is attested from 1300, with several attestations per period from then. The use in *HS* is unlikely to be a later scribal change, as in each of the four uses it is in a rhyming position. The *OED* notes it arose out of confusion between OF *secré* 'secret of the Mass' with the past participle of *sacrer*. That verb is similar still in form to Latin *sacrare*, which however for this ME word will not have played a significant role.

[200] The OF form seems distinct enough from Latin *sacrificare* to suppose mainly French influence on the ME word. For **signifien**, a formally similar case, the *OED* entry concluded the Latin verb had played a role.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
					sauve (fem.)[201]	
saufli	adv	sauely	safely	–	from *sauf*, adj	1
saumple	n	sample	sample n	essample	aphetic from OF essample[202]	3
saven	v	save	save v	salver	OF sauver[203]	72
saveour	n	sauyoure	saviour	salveour	OF sauveour	1
savour	n	sauoure	savour n	savur	OF savour[204]	5
savouren	v	sauerþ	savour v	savurer	OF savourer	2
sclaundre	n	sclaunder	slander n	esclandre	aphetic from AN esclaundre [205]	1
scomfiten	v	scumfyghte	scomfit v	cf. descomfire	ME, shortened from *discomfiten* v[206]	1
scorn	n	scorne	scorn n	escharn	ME, aphetic from OF escarn[207]	6

[201] The *MED* indicates this is from OF 'and L *salvus*'. The *OED3* does not specify direct influence of the Latin adjective and concludes it is of French origin. ME spellings include types in <*al*>, which could derive from Latin or such French spellings (indeed, the *AND* headword form is **salf**).

[202] The full form **ensaumple** is attested from 1275, while **assaumple** 'illustrative instance' is attested only twice, in the Nero manuscript of *Ancrene Riwle*, and in 1425. Other related words are attested from the late fourteenth century. Forms without prefix are included as variant spelling in the *AND*, under the main entry.

[203] The *OED3* entry concludes this is of French origin only. The *MED* also gives Latin *salvare* as etymon; ME forms which have <-*a*-> or <-*au*-> reather than <-*al*-> show more influence of the French form, but a Latinate form is already found in *St. Katherine* in the early thirteenth century, even though these remained rare. The *AND* gives as most prominent forms those in <-*al*->; such forms may come from French, but it is impossible to be sure. The adjective appears from c. 1280 and the preposition from 1300.

[204] Compare **sapor** (n), attested from 1477 in the *OED*, which derives from the Latin etymon of the OF form, *sapor*.

[205] *MED* sense 5 'rumour, information, reputation' is only attested in *KA* and two fifteenth-century texts. The full form from French, **esclaundre**, is only attested in very late ME. A negative form **disclaundre** is also used from 1300 and can also be found in the *AND*. The *AND* entry *esclaundre* includes aphetic spellings.

[206] The full verb, **discomfiten**, is attested once in the *Ancrene Riwle* c1230 and from 1300. The *AND* does not list an aphetic form of the verb, but includes entries for **confiture** (n 2) and **sconfiture** as shortened forms of the noun. The form in *KA* shows influence from **fighten**.

[207] The use in *HS* appears to be one of the earlier forms using <-*o*-> rather than <-*a*->. Gburek states that the <*o*> in ME remains unexplained. One form of the verb in *HS* in fact rhymes with *warne* (3194). The *AND* entry also lists aphetic forms among the variant spellings. The same applies to the verb.

MED		Gburek entry	*OED*	*AND*	OF form	x
scornen	v	scorne	scorn v	escharnir	ME, aphetic from OF escarnir	8
scornere	n	scorners	scorner	–	from *scornen* v	2
scorninge	n	skornyng	scorning	–	from *scornen* v	3
scourge	n	scourge	scourge n	escorge[1]	aphetic from AN escurge[208]	2
scrivein	n	skryueyne	scrivein	escrivein	aphetic from OF escrivein[209]	1
scroue	n	scrowe	scrow n	escrowe	aphetic from AN escrowe[210]	1
se	n 2	se	see n 1	see[1]	OF sé	1
segge	n 2	sege	siege n	sege	OF sege	1
seignorie	n	seynorye	seigniory	seignurie	OF seignorie[211]	3
seisine	n	sesyne	seisin n	seisine	OF saisine[212]	1
selen	v	sele	seal v 1	sealer	OF seeler[213]	1
semblaunt	n	semblant	semblant n	semblant[1]	OF semblant	6
sergeaunt	n	seriaunt	sergeant, serjeant n	sergant	OF serjant, cf. ML serjantus[214]	7
sermounen	v	sermun	sermon v	sermuner[2]	OF sermouner	1

[208] The *AND* records aphetic spellings in its entry.
[209] The corresponding line in the *Manuel* contains *escriuein*. **Scribe** is the Latinate word and is only attested later in ME, except for one use in the *Orrmulum* (in a different sense) and one surname in Domesday Book.
[210] For 1200–1250 this word only attested in the *Ancrene Riwle*. The *MED* includes an attestation for c. 1339, which however appears in a L/F documentary context (*Sacrist Rolls of Ely*). I have omitted this. The *AND* entry includes aphetic forms.
[211] This word is glossed *lordship*. The related word **seignour** is attested from 1300 and as byname from 1164.
[212] The etymological note in *MED* also points to a ML *seisina* in various spellings and suggests ML and AL forms at **seisen** (v). The word in that form seems to be a French development, which may have passed into Latin again. Without knowing the chronology it is hard to say what role the Latin forms would have played in forming the ME word, but the Latin forms are probably derivative.
[213] Etymologically related forms in English are OE *insegel*, ME **inseil** 'impression in wax, seal' (attested up to 1225) and OE *sig*(*e*)*l* 'brooch' (see *OED*). These are attested for 1200–1250 in various texts. The noun is attested from 1200 continuously, with a use as a surname in 1169 (*MED*).
[214] Although the *MED* prompts a comparison with 'ML serjantus, sergantus, sergentus, sarjantus, sargantus, AL serjauntus', the *DMLBS* entry *sergantus* strongly suggests it is derived from the French, and the *OED* makes no mention of these forms.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
					[215]	
servaunt	n	seruaunt	servant n	servant	OF servant[216]	1
simphane	n	symphan	symphan n	simphonie[1]	OF *simphaine cf. *tympan*[217]	1
sire	n	syre	sire n, sir n	sire[1]	OF sire[218]	44
sise	n 1	syse	size n 1	assise[1], cf. sise	OF sise cf. *assise*[219]	1
sisour	n	sysours	sizer n 1	assessour[2]	from *sise* and aphetic from AN assisour[220]	3
sobrete	n	soberte	soberty	sobreté	OF soberté	2
sodeinli	adv	sodenly	suddenly	–	ME from AN sodein + ly[221]	1
sojournen	v	soiurne	sojourn v	sujurner	OF sojourner[222]	2
sopere	n 1	sopers	supper n 1	super	OF soper[223]	3
souchen	v	souche	souche	suscher[1]	OF souchier	2
soverain	n	souereyn	sovereign	soverein	OF souverain	2

[215] In MS H this word is glossed with *to speke* (which is a sense that developed later, first attested 1382). The noun is attested continuously from 1200. The absence of influence of Latin *sermonem* on the noun cannot be determined. For the verb, there is one mention in Du Cange of a Latin *sermonari* (a variant of *sermonizari*, which is the form in the only quotation), but OF *sermoner* is well attested and probably forms the major influence. Neither *OED* nor *MED* suggests any role for a Latin word.

[216] For the verb **serven**, it cannot be established that Latin *servire* played no significant role in its adoption in ME. With **servaunt**, the ending shows it to be derived from OF. The *MED* etymology mentions 'for forms in -viant, -vient also cp. L serviens, -ientis', but cites only one such use, in a byname of 1242 occurring in a documentary context that is thus very dubious as example of English usage. The *OED* offers no such suggestion.

[217] This is a shortened form of **simphonie**, which is attested from 1300 (Laud Misc. 108). The *HS* manuscript reading is *symphangle* (Gburek). The *AND* only records the full form.

[218] The word is used in two senses in *HS*: in direct address and as title before names (also personifications like *simonie*). When used in other ways it is several times accompanied by a synonym such as *mayster* or *lord*.

[219] The ME attestations for **assise** and **sise** are similar; **sise** eventually became more prominent, possibly because **assise** was taken as *a sise*. In the *AND* **sise** has only one sense of the various senses given for **assise** and appears to have been rarer (the attestations are for 1249 and 1279–1377).

[220] The *AND* does not give any shortened form. The full form in ME, **assisour**, is attested in 1330. **Assise** and **sise** are the earliest attested words in the morphological family.

[221] The adjective (from which the adverb was supposedly formed) is only attested for 1300 and 1325 in texts surviving in later manucripts.

[222] The forms *subjurnare*, *sojornare* noted in Du Cange and the *DMLBS* seem to be derived from the OF and/or ME forms.

[223] Although a post-classical Latin *soperium* existed, this seems to be relatively late (attested in the thirteenth century in British sources). Neither *OED* nor *MED* suggests it as direct source for the ME.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
specialte	n	specyalte	specialty	especialté	OF (e)spe-cialté[224]	1
speire	n	speyre	speir n 1	espeire	aphetic from OF espeir(e)[225]	1
spousaille	n	spousayle	spousal n	sposales, espusaille	aphetic from OF espousaille[226]	7
spouse-breche	n	spouse-breche	spouse-breach n 1	–	from OF spous + OE bræc[227]	2
spurgen	v	spourge	spurge v 1	spurger	aphetic from OF espurgier[228]	1
squier	n	squyer	squire n	esquier	OF (e)squier[229]	6
squilere	n	squyler	squiller	escuieler[1]	AN scuiler[230]	1
store	n 1	store	store n	estor[1]	aphetic from OF	9

[224] The form of the ME noun would point to its source in OF, despite the similarity of Latin *specialitas*. Some reduction of the Latin ending within ME might have played a role, too, though. The related forms **special** etc. are attested earlier; see Appendix 8. *MED* indicates the noun may also come from ME **especialte**, but that form is only attested later. The *AND* entry includes an aphetic form among the spelling variants.

[225] The full form **espeire** is attested in the *Story of England* and in Gower. Note the potential for confusion with ME **speir**, aphetic for **despeir**, denoting the opposite concept. All three remained relatively rare. The nouns as used by Mannyng do not seem very English; synonyms like **hope** are amply attested, also in *HS*. *Speire* is used only once, to rhyme with *eyre* (there is no *espoir* in the *Manuel* at this point). The *AND* entry does not record an aphetic form.

[226] The *OED* mentions the ultimate origin in Latin *sponsalia*. This however is clearly distinct in form from the OF and ME forms (no spellings found with <*n*>, for example, in either *MED* or *AND*). **Spouse** and **spousen** are attested in the entire thirteenth century; **spousage** in the *Story of England* and from 1400 (as well as in a text dated to 1350). There is an interesting noun with a native suffix in **spoushed**, attested from 1200 (for 1250–1300 only in a text surviving in a later manuscript). This thus seems to have been the first noun for the state of wedlock based on **spouse** to have seen some use in English, compared to which Mannyng's form is both rarer and more French, although it did in time become quite English.

[227] The *MED* has a separate entry **spouse-bruche**, in which it includes the earliest attestations, including two for the thirteenth century. The OE word was *æ-bryce* and is attested in ME in the thirteenth century. **Mid-liggunge** is attested once a1225.

[228] The ME forms are probably distinct enough from Latin *expurgare* to suppose no direct influence, though reinforcement by the Latin verb for multilingual speakers is possible. The *DMLBS* records forms *spurga* and *spurgellum*, for which it points to OF and ME parallels. The spellings recorded in the *AND* under **espurger** include *expurger*, showing influence of the Latin form. No such spellings are recorded in the *MED*.

[229] The *MED* etymology prompts comparison with AL *(e)squierius*, which seems to be formed on the French. The full form **esquire** is only attested from the fifteenth century. No aphetic forms are recorded in the *AND*, in contrast to the etymon given by Gburek and the *OED*.

[230] No aphetic form is recorded in the *AND* entry. **Sculerie** is attested from 1330. The form of Latin *scutellarius* is sufficiently different to suppose a dominant influence for the OF noun.

MED		Gburek entry	*OED*	*AND*	OF form	x
					estor[231]	
stourblen	v	sturble	sturble	–	aphetic from distourblen	3
stoute	adj	stoute	stout adj etc. A	estut	aphetic from OF estout	8
stoute	adv	stoute	stout adj etc. B	–	from *stoute* adj[232]	1
stouten	v	stoute	stout v	–	from *stoute* adj	4
stoutli	adv	stoutly	stoutly adv	–	from *stoute* adj	4
straunge	adj	straunge	strange adj	estrange	aphetic from OF estrange[233]	2
streit	adj	streyte	strait adj etc. A	streit, estreit[1]	aphetic from OF estreit[234]	2
streite	adv	streyte	strait adj etc. C	streit, estreit[1]	from *streit* adj or AN	3
streitli	adv	streytly	straitly	–	from *streit* adj	1
stresse	n	stresse	stress n	cf. destresce, estresce	aphetic from *distresse* and OF estrece	7
stressen	v	stres	stress v 1	cf. destresser,	from *stresse* and aphetic	1

[231] The *DMLBS* records a form *staurum* (called Anglo-Latin in the *OED*, but not indicated as such in the *DMLBS*). Similarly, the verb *staurare* is attested in British sources. There is no indication of Latin forms in <*o*> in British sources. The full form **astor** is attested once, in *AM*. The verb **storen** is attested from 1200 (*Brut*; different quotations under different senses for the Otho and Caligula versions; and in 1265, *Song of the Battle of Lewes*). **Astoren** is attested 1200 and from 1300. Two more Latinate forms, **enstoren** and **instoren**, are attested from the late fourteenth century. The *AND* entry includes an aphetic spelling variant.

[232] Before 1400 this form is attested only in Mannyng's works and two Auchinleck texts. The adverb in <*-li*> likewise is attested only in Auchinleck texts in the first half of the fourteenth century. Mannyng uses three of the four adjective and adverb forms given by the *MED* and seems to have coined the verb. His frequent use of the various words (17 in all) is remarkable, especially since many of the other uses are in romances.

[233] The *AND* entry includes aphetic spellings.

[234] The etymologically related verb **streinen** (v 1) is attested from 1300. This is another set of forms showing some instability between concept and form evident in the variety of forms.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
				estrescer	from OF estrecier[235]	
strife	n	stryfe	strife	estrif	aphetic from OF estrif	6
striven	v	stryue	strive	estriver[1]	aphetic from OF estriver[236]	5
stroien	v	stroye	stroy v	(destrure)	aphetic from *destroien*[237]	1
surfeture	n	surfeture	surfetry, surfeture	surfeiture	OF surfeiture[238]	1
sustenen	v	susteyn	sustain v	sustenir	OF sustenir[239]	5
tablere	n	tablere	tabler n 1	tabler[1]	OF tablier[240]	2
taillage	n	taylage	tallage n 1	taillage	OF taillage[241]	1
taverne	n	tauerne	tavern	taverne	OF taverne[242]	5
tender	adj	tendrere	tender adj	tendre[3]	OF tendre	1
terlyncel	n	terlyncel	–	–	from OF	4

[235] A very large number of the quotations in the *MED* for the verb and noun are from Mannyng's works. The *OED* explains that while perhaps primarily these words were shortened from **distresse** they coalesced at least in some senses with OF *estresce* 'narrowness, straightness, oppression', related to **streit**.

[236] The ultimate origin of both noun and verb is unclear; the *OED* summarises the two most common conjectures. For the noun, but not the verb, the *AND* entry includes aphetic forms as variant spellings.

[237] The *OED* also suggests possible influence from **astruen** (also *astroien*), which is attested from 1200 (with the use in the *Trinity Homilies* possibly from OE), twice around 1300, and once after 1400.

[238] There is no actual OF or AF attestation for the ME sense, which in any case is used only twice. Dictionaries suggest a formation from *surfeit* and *-ure*. The *AND* records a single use of *sorfaiture* in the *RTC* (late c12), but this is translated as 'arrogance'. **Surfeit** has both the sense 'excess' and 'arrogance' in the *AND*. **Surfet** in the *MED* is attested several times in the fourteenth century, and the ME verb and adjective from the end of that century.

[239] A dominant French influence is suggested by the vowels found in the second syllable; cf. Latin *sustinēre*.

[240] The *OED3* entry concludes it is of French origin, unlike **table** (n). Neither *MED* or *OED* suggests that the Latin word was a strong influence. The ME forms seem to derive mostly from the OF form, but Latin *tabularium* did in post-classical usage have the same sense and is attested in British sources in the form *tablerium*, from which a ME *tabler* could be derived. It is attested in the *Story of England* and from 1350.

[241] Etymologically, Latin *tallagium* derived from the OF. It is possible that both influenced the ME form, but the <*ay*> in the spelling in *HS* does suggest a dominant OF influence.

[242] Influence of the <*b*> in Latin *taberna* is not found in any ME form. The *MED* quotations contain two forms *taberna*, both clearly Latin: 'þat tavarn was i-cleped Taberna emeritoria' in Higden and a gloss *Taberna: tawerne*. The *OED* has a separate lemma for **tabern**, first attested in the fifteenth century. Note though the confusion between /b/ and /v/ in Late Latin and the form *taverna* recorded in Du Cange. On the phonological change, see J.N. Adams, 'Late Latin,' in *A Companion to the Latin Language*, ed. by James Clackson (Chichester: Blackwell, 2011), pp. 257–83 (pp. 275–76).

MED		**Gburek entry**	*OED*	*AND*	**OF form**	**x**
					tirer + linçuel[243]	
Termagaunt	n	termagaunt	termagant n	–	ME from OF tervagan(t) [244]	3
terme	n	terme	term n	terme	OF terme[245]	3
termes	n pl	termes	cf. therm n 1	termes	OF t(h)erme[246]	1
ticement	n	tycement	ticement	enticement	aphetic from *enticement* [247]	4
ticen	v	tyse	tice v	enticer	aphetic from OF atiser, enticier[248]	6
tiffen	v	tyfe	tiff v 1	cf. atiffer	OF tif(f)er[249]	6
tiffinge	ger	tyfyng	tiffing	–	from *tiffen*	1
tifure	n	tyfure	tiffure	cf. atiffure	OF tif(e)ure	1
tormentour	n	turmen-tours	tormentor	turmentur	AN tormentour, OF tourmenteur [250]	2

[243] This is an allegorical figure who leads people into the fourth mortal sin (Gburek). In Furnivall the form is given with capitalised initial. The *MED* does not include either, though it does have it in quotations, where it is capitalised. The manuscript readings are lowercase. For a brief discussion of the use in *HS*, see W.A. Davenport, 'Peter Idley and the devil in Mankind,' *English Studies* 64.2 (1983), 106–12 (p. 107).

[244] See the note at *terlyncel* on capitalisation. The use at line 197 translates OF *deable* (see 5.3.1). Gburek points out that the *OED*'s avoidance of 'devil' to gloss **termagant** is accurate, as it concerns a (fictive) pagan deity (originally in the *Song of Roland*). The *AND* has no entry for the word, but it is found in two quotations.

[245] The OF and ME forms are clearly different from Latin *terminum*, though for multilingual speakers the link may have been evident and through that some influence is possible.

[246] In this form it is taken directly from the French source and glossed in the immediate context (Gburek). As this is the only ME use, it is relatively safe to conclude it was taken from French. The plural form would support this, despite the relative similarity of the OF and Latin nouns. The *OED* entry **therm** records only a later borrowing, in which the difference from the Latin form is smaller.

[247] **Enticement** is attested from 1300 (with a single attestation, from *AM*). The verb has several attestations from 1300 and in a text dated to 1280 surviving only in later manuscripts. The *AND* entry includes a variant *ticement*.

[248] This word is attested from 1300; see note at **entisen**. The *AND* entry includes a variant *ticer*.

[249] In the form *tif(f)er* it is recorded in Godefroy, but not in the *AND* or *DMF*.

[250] The *DMLBS* records a form *tormentor*, pointing to the ME for comparison, as well as *tormentator* (only hypothesised in the *OED* entry). The latter is formally distinct from the OF and ME uses, though. It may lie behind a single spelling *turmatur* recorded in the *MED* for c1450. In all some reinforcement by the Latin noun is to be supposed, but the direct source will have been the French noun.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
touchen	v	touche	touch v	tucher	OF toucher	19
touchinge	ger	touchyng	touching	–	from *touchen*	1
tournement	n	tournament	tournament	turneie-ment	OF to(u)rnei(e)ment[251]	7
tourneour	n	tournours	tourneyer	turneiur	OF tournoieur	1
traitour	n	treytur	traitor n	traitre	OF traitour, acc sg of traitre	16
traitourhede	n	treytorhede	traitorhead	–	from *traitour* + hede	1
traitourie	n	treytory	traitory	traitrie	from *traitour* + y, cf. AF trait(u)rie	1
traitourous	adj	treytours	traitorous	traiterous	from *traitour* + ous cf. OF traitreus[252]	1
travail	n	trauayle	travail n 1	travail	OF travail	13
travailen	v	trauayle	travail v, travel v	travailler	OF travailler[253]	12
trecherie	n	trechery	treachery	tricherie	OF trecherie[254]	1
trechour	n 1	trechour	treachour	tricheur	OF trecheor	1
treisoun	n	tresun	treason n	traisun	AN treso(u)n	21
tresour	n	tresour	treasure n	tresor	OF tresor	12
tresourer	n	tresorer	treasurer	tresorer	ONF tresorer	1
tresourie	n	tresourye	treasury n	tresorie	OF tresorie	2
trespas	n	trespas	trespass n	trespas	OF trespas	27
trespassen	v	trespas	terspass v	trespasser	from *trespas* n	8

[251] The *OED* notes that 'the later English spellings *tornea-*, *tourna-* were apparently due to the influence of medieval Latin', but since the Latin was derived from French I have disregarded this.
[252] Gburek includes a note on form and *OED* attestation. The *MED* also includes a *HS* quotation in the entry for the adjective **trechour**. This word type classification is a bit complex: it is in the line 'þou art a gylour | And coueytous and trechour' (5974); if we interpret *coueytous* as noun then seeing *trechour* as noun is most consistent and there is no unusually formed adjective.
[253] Gburek notes that the modern division into two lemmata is not evident at this time, although two senses start being formed from c. 1300 and can be found in *HS*. However, spelling does not distinguish between them. The uses at 1952 and 7727 are in the sense 'travel'.
[254] The verb is first attested in 1250.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
					and OF trespasser[255]	
tretable	adj	tretable	treatable	traitable	OF traitable[256]	1
trompe	n	troumpes	trump n 1	trumpe	OF trompe[257]	1
trufle	n	tryfyl	trifle n	trufle	OF trufle	1
uncertain	adj	on-certeyn, vncerteyne	uncertain adj	(nun-certein)	from *certain* adj; cf. OF *incertain*, AN *nuncertein*	2
unchargen	v	vncharged	uncharge	–	from *chargen* v	1
uncourteis	adj	vncurteys	uncour-teous	–	from *courteis* adj	1
usage	n	vsage	usage n	usage	OF usage[258]	2
vailaunt	adj	vaylaunt	valiant	vaillant	AN vailaunt[259]	1
vailen	v	vayleþ	vail v 1	valer[2]	OF vail- from inf valoir cf. *availen*	3
valeie	n	valey	valley n	valee	AN from OF valée[260]	1
value	n	valeu	value n	value	OF value[261]	1

[255] The specific English meaning ‘ein Gesetz überschreiten, sich vergehen’ suggests that the verb is derived from the noun, which had been borrowed earlier and developed this meaning (Gburek).
[256] The verb has similar attestations. The ME and OF forms are clearly distinct from Latin *tractabilem*.
[257] The *MED* etymology prompts a comparison to ‘ML trumpa, trompa’. The *OED* makes no mention of this. The *DMLBS* entry **trumpa** (cf. *trumpa* and *trompa* in Du Cange) mentions the AF form, which may mean it is derived from that. Although the Latin noun may have played some role, its form and influence were most likely secondary.
[258] Latin *usagium*, derived from the OF, was frequent in British sources from the twelfth century. The *OED3* entry concludes the word came from French only.
[259] The only attestations for 1300–1350 concern a specific subsense (‘legally valid’) and *Story of England* (plus bynames, but those are very suspect as English usage, often *le vailaunt*). Neither *OED* nor *MED* suggests any role for Latin *valens*, *-ntis*, which has similar senses, even though quite a few quotations in the *MED* have a stem <*val-*> rather than <*vail-*>. The earliest of these is from c1400 except for two bynames. The *AND* shows one such spelling (in <*wal-*>). Neither form, sense, nor the nature of the Latin word suggests it cannot have influenced the ME, but the late date of the Latinate spellings makes it likely they were remodelled on Latin.
[260] The *MED* notes ‘cf. L valles, AL valeia, valeium’; the AL could be from either OF or ME (with the former more likely) and can be treated as secondary to them. The *OED* only gives it as the source for the OF form (also at **vale** n). In the end, the <*ei*> of the ME form (specifically also the form used in HS) points to a stronger role for OF.
[261] The *OED* notes a comparison to post-classical Latin *valua*, derived from OF. The *OED3* entry concludes the ME form is of French origin only.

MED		**Gburek entry**	*OED*	*AND*	**OF form**	**x**
vauncement	n	vaunse-ment	–	–	aphetic from *avaunce-ment*	1
vauncen	v	vaunsed	vaunce	–	aphetic from *avauncen*	1
vein	adj	veyn	vain adj etc.	vain[1]	OF veyn[262]	9
vengeaunce	n	veniaunce	vengeance	vengeance	AN veniaunce from OF vengeance	37
vengen	v	venge	venge v	venger[1]	OF veng(i)er	1
venim	n	venym	venom n	venim	OF venim[263]	2
verrei	adj	verry	very adj etc.	verai	OF verai[264]	3
verreili	adv	verrylyk	verily	–	from *verrei*	2
verreiment	adv	verrement	verament	veraiement	AN veirement	3
vertu	n	vertu	virtue n	vertu	OF vertu[265]	18
vessel	n	vessel	vessel n 1	vessel	OF vessel[266]	16
vesselment	n	vessele-ment	vesselment	vessele-ment	OF vesselement	2
viage	n	vyage	voyage	veage	OF ve(i)age	1
vice	n	vyce	vice n 1	vice[1]	OF vice[267]	12
vilein	n	vyleyn	villain n	vilein	OF vilein[268]	1
vileinie	n	vyleynye	villainy n	vileinie	OF villeinnie[269]	24

[262] Judging from a combination of the attestations and their spelling of the stem vowels (<*ei*>, <*ai*>), the main source for the ME word is the OF form. The rare forms in the *MED* entry with <*a*> are late.
[263] The ME forms clearly take after OF *venim* rather than Latin *venenum*, though some reinforcement by the Latin noun may have taken place.
[264] The ME forms are all of the type suggested by the OF forms rather than Latin *verus*.
[265] The *OED3* entry concludes the word is mainly from French. The role of Latin *virtus* in forming the ME word is unclear. Spellings in <*i*> could be an indication, but as the *OED* notes these were common in MF as well and could have come through there. Spellings in <*e*> are based on OF but could reflect spelling conventions more than etymology. The searchable *HS* edition reveals no <*i*> spellings in *HS*.
[266] ML *vesselum* was probably derived from vernacular forms. The classical form *vascellum* seems distinct enough in form to disregard as major influence on the ME word.
[267] Latin *vitium* had medieval forms *vicium* that the *OED* does not make much of and the *DMLBS* does not record; no spellings given in the *MED* would seem to be influenced by *vitium*.
[268] A Latin *villanus* is supposed to explain the OF forms but there is little suggestion in either dictionary that this influenced the ME word. The ME spelling variants show none that could be of a Latin type.
[269] ML *villania*, derived from the vernacular form, is not given as immediate source but cannot be completely disregarded.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
vileins	adj	vyleynys	villains	vilein	OF vileins[270]	2
vilte	n	vylte	vilety	vilté	OF vilté[271]	1
violence	n	violence	violence n	violence	OF violence[272]	1
visage	n	visage	visage n	visage	OF visage[273]	6
vitaile	n	vytayle	victual n	vitaille	OF vitaile[274]	1
voice	n	voys	voice n	voiz[1]	OF vois[275]	5
voide	adj	voyde	void adj etc. A	void	OF voide	4
vouchen	v	vouchede	vouch v cf. vouchsafe	voucher[1]	OF voucher[276]	1
voue	n 1	vowe	vow n	vou[1]	OF vou	13
wagour	n	waiour	wager n 2	gagure	AN wageure[277]	2
waiten	v	weyte	wait v 1, v 2	gaiter	ONF waitier[278]	4
waitinge	ger	wayting	waiting	–	from *waiten*	1
waranting	ger	warantyng	warranting	–	from ONF warantir[279]	1
wardein	n	wardeynes	warden n 1	gardein[1]	ONF wardein[280]	5
warisoun	n	warysun	warison	garisun	ONF	2

[270] Another adjectival form, **vileinous**, is attested from 1300.
[271] A role for Latin *vilitas* cannot be fully excluded, given that the main difference is in the ending, which may have been modelled on earlier words formed from French, but the Latin and OF forms are clearly distinct, with the ME word following the French model only.
[272] The *MED* also points to Latin *violentia*, which the *OED* only gives as source for the OF. With endings of the type <-*ence*> often modelled on French even with Latin loans, Latin influence cannot be excluded based on form alone. However, the *OED3* entry concludes it is of French origin.
[273] The *MED* also points to ML *visagium*, which the *DMLBS* indicates may be from the AF, so that I have disregarded it.
[274] The *MED* notes that the Latin word was behind spellings like *victualles*; in *HS* there is no such form, and all spellings of that type appear in the fifteenth century.
[275] The *MED* entry suggests that spellings like *vose*, *voce* may be influenced by the Latin word. Spellings in <*oi*> stem clearly from OF and these were very dominant. All Latinate spellings are fifteenth-century.
[276] There is an unclear distinction in the *MED* between **vouchen** (v), **sauf-vouchen** (v) and **vouchen sauf** (v phr), for in the former there are a number of subsenses with *sauf* too. Attestations are similar. The use in *HS* is in the form 'he vouchede hyt saufe on vs' (6345).
[277] For the verb, the *MED* invites comparison to ML *wagiare*, a variant of *vadiare*; for the noun it notes the existence of an AL form *wagerum*. The *DMLBS* includes that form under its entry *vadiaria*. The Latin forms similar to OF were probably derived from OF. The *OED* mentions neither form. The only spellings of the type *wager* in the *MED* are fifteenth-century.
[278] The separation between this (**waiten**) and **weiten**, of ON origin, is problematic as far as meaning is concerned: they may have been homonyms for Mannyng and/or the scribe (Gburek).
[279] The verb is first attested in a text of 1300–1350 surviving in a later manuscript; **warantise** is attested from 1300.
[280] Attestations for **gardein** (n) are later.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	***AND***	**OF form**	**x**
					warison[281]	
waste	n	waste	waste n	gast	ONF wast	5
waste	adj	waste	waste adj	gast	ONF wast	6
wasten	v	wastyþ	waste v	gaster[1]	ONF waster	2
wastene	n	wasteyn	wastine	gastine	ONF wastine	4
weiven	v 1	weyue	waive v 1	waiver	AN weyver[282]	6
werre	n	werre	war n 1	guerre	ONF werre	3
werren	v	werre	war v 1	guerrer[2]	ONF *werrer and from *werre* n	2

[281] Attestations for **garisoun** (n) are similar, starting 1300.The *AND* entry does not record forms with initial <*w*>.

[282] This is a similar case as the two meanings of **waiten**/**weiten** (Gburek notes), also with the verb **waven**. The *MED* has based its selection of quotations on semantic fit. Twice it is glossed *forsake* (6597, 8324), once *fle*. The OF word was taken up in Law Latin, from where it might have had an influence.

Appendix 7: Attestations of Vocabulary of French Origin in *Handlyng Synne*

This appendix presents the attestations of French-derived vocabulary in *Handlyng Synne*. The first two columns give the *MED* headword and the word class. If there are multiple *MED* headwords with the same spelling, the number assigned to the correct entry in the *MED* is also given, as in **acoupen** (v 1). The forms as found in *HS* can be found in Appendix 6 in the column 'Gburek entry'. Headwords in italics indicate words also found in *Kyng Alisaunder*, as included by the *MED*. Headwords in bold do the same for those in Laȝamon's *Brut*.

The columns labelled by time period indicate in binary whether the word is attested in at least one manuscript dated to that fifty-year period, with 1 for yes and 0 for no. An asterisk indicates that the word occurs in a text dated to that period which survives only in a later manuscript. The letter B indicates a word is only attested as byname in that period. An attestation is assigned to a fifty-year period based on the *MED* stencil as given in the entry, as explained in 1.5.3. Attestations for different senses within a lemma have all been included in the table, with consideration of any semantic development reserved for the main discussion or footnotes in Appendix 6. Attestations of variant words with separate entries (e.g. related noun, verb and adjective or aphetic forms) have not been added to the table, though I do look at their attestations and note down different patterns in footnotes in Appendix 6. For example, if a word is a noun, then its attestations have been compared to those of the related verb, adjective and/or adverb forms and any anomalies have been included in the notes. The reason for considering these is that the earlier currency in ME of a variant or related form would have facilitated the adoption of the word used in *HS*. For a full description of the method used, see 1.5.3.

In the *MED*, the date of *HS* is given as 'a1400(c1303)' (MS H) and Mannyng's chronicle *Story of England* '?a1400(a1338)' (London, Inner Temple Library, MS Petyt 511), since they do not survive in earlier manuscripts (see 4.1.5).[1] If there are no attestations in the *MED* for the period 1300–1350, I have marked that period with either a C for chronicle, if the word is used in the *Story of England* as well as in *HS*, or with an H, if it is only used in *HS*. Since the manuscripts in which these texts are found fall in the period 1400–1450, this marks a deviation from my usual practice of assigning the

[1] On the format of these dates, see 1.4.3.

attestation based on manuscript date (see 1.5.2). This is possible because it concerns a small number of words for which it is relatively easy to examine whether they are likely to be original, belonging to the period 1300–1350, or probably represent a later introduction.

The table given immediately below is ordered alphabetically by headword. It is followed by smaller tables with identical content ordered per period, corresponding to the data sections of chapter 4 (4.3 to 4.6). Words with gaps in attestations are included in the tables per period, but were generally excluded from discussion in chapter 4.

7.1 Alphabetical List of Attestations

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
abaishen	v	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
abaten	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
abaven	v	0	0	0	H	*	1	1
abbeie	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
abbesse	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
abhominable	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
abreggen	v	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
accidie	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
accord	n	0	*	1	1	1	1	1
accordaunce	n	0	0	0	C	*	1	1
accorden	v	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
accounte	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
accounten	v	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
accountour	n	0	0	0	H	*	1	1
acombren	v	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
acoupen	v 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
affiaunce	n	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
affien	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
afforcen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
affrai	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
affraien	v 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
age	n	0	*	1	1	1	1	1
agraunten	v	0	0	0	H	0	0	1
agreven	adj/v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
ajoinen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
alas	int	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
alleggen	v 2	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
aloinen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
amen	v	0	0	0	C	1	1	1

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
amendement	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
amenden	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
amounten	v	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
angwisshe	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
anoien	v	0	*	1	1	1	1	1
apeiren	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
apperen	v	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
apperinge	ger	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
aprise	n 3	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
aqueintaunce	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
aresounen	v	0	0	1	1	*	1	1
armes	n	*	0	1	1	1	1	1
armure	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
arrai	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
assai	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
assaillen	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
assemble	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
assise	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
assoilen	v	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
atir	n	0	0	0	1[2]	1	1	1
atiren	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
attournen	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
atteinen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
auctorite	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
aumener	n 1	0	0	B	1	1	1	1
availen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
avaunce	n	0	0	0	H	0	1	1
avauncement	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
avauncen	v	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
avauntage	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
avauntement	n	0	0	0	C	0	*	0
avaunten	v	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
avenaunt	n	0	0	0	C	*	1	1
aventure	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
aventurous	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
avis	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
avisen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
avouter	n	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
avoutrie	n	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
bacin	n	0	1	*	1	1	1	1
baillie	n	0	B	0	1	1	1	1
baillif	n	0	B	0	1	1	1	1
balaunce	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1

[2] One attestation for 1300 is from the Otho *Brut*.

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
banere	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
baroun	n pl	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
bataille	n	0	*	1	1	1	1	1
beaute	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
beggen	v	0	1	0	H	1	1	1
benisoun	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
bigilen	v	0	*	1	1	1	1	1
bisegen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
bitraien	v	0[3]	*	*	1	1	1	1
blame	n	0	1	*	1	1	1	1
blamen	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
blaunchere	n	0	0	B	B	0	*	1
bliche	adj	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
bobaunce	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
bonairté	n	0	0	0	H	*	1	1
borgh-gage	n	0	0	0	H	0	0	0
bounte	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
bourde	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
bourden	v 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
braien	v 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
braunch	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
cacchen	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
cage	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
cainard	n	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
caitif	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
careine	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
carole	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
carolen	v	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
caroling	ger	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
catel	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
certain	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
certain	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
certain	adv	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
certainli	adv	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
certainte	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
certes	adv	0	*	1	1	1	1	1
chacen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
chaiere	n	0	*	*	1	1	1	1
chaine	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
chalengen	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
champioun	n	0	1	*	1	1	1	1
chapele	n	0	1	B	1	1	1	1
charge	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1

[3] The *DOE* records an interlinear twelfth-century gloss *be-tragan* (in Aelfric's homilies).

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
chargen	v	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
charite	n	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
charme	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
chartre	n	0	0	1[4]	1	1	1	1
chaste	adj	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
chasten	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
chastien	v	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
chastisement	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
chastisen	v	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
chastisinge	n	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
chaumberlein	n	B	1	*	1	1	1	1
chaumbre	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
chaunce	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
chauncefulliche	adv	0	0	0	H	0	0	0
chauncel	n	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
chaungen	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
chef	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
chek	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
chere	n 1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
ches	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
chesoun	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
chevisaunce	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
chois	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
cite	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
claimen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
cler	adj	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
cler	adv	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
clergie	n	0	1	*	1	1	1	1
code	n 1	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
cofre	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
cokewold	n	0	*	1	1	1	1	1
com-mare	n	0	0	0	H	0	0	0
combraunce	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
combre	n	0	0	0	C	0	0	0
combrement	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
combren	v	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
combringe	ger	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
comfort	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
commaundement	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
communalte	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
communen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
compaignie	n	0	*	1	1	1	1	1

[4] The attestation for this period in *MED* is in a forged charter claiming to be by Athelstan, thought to date from c. 1250.

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
conceiven	v	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
consentour	n	0	0	0	H	0	1	1
conteinen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
contek	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
contree	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
cor-seint	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
corage	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
cosine	n	B	*	0	1	1	1	1
cote	n 2	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
couard	adj	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
couardise	n	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
counte	n 3	0	0	0	C[5]	*	1	1
countre-paye	n	0	0	0	H	0	0	0
courteis	n, adj	B	0	0	1	1	1	1
courteisie	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
courteisliche	adv	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
coveiten	v	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
coveitise	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
coveitous[6]	n	0	0	1	H	0	1	1
coveitous	adj	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
covenaunt	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
covenaunt	adj	0	0	0	H	0	*	1
cover-chef	n	0	0[7]	0	1	1	1	1
coveren	v1	*	0	1	1	1	1	1
coveringe	ger	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
covine	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
creme	n 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
crie	n 1	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
crien	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
criing	ger	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
crois	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
croket	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
cronicle	n	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
custome-houses	n	0	0	0	H	0	0	0
custumable	adj	0	0	0	H	*	1	1
custumable	adv	0	0	0	H	*	1	1
custumabli	adj	0	0	0	H[8]	0	1	1
custumabli	adv	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
custume	n	0	1	0[9]	1	1	1	1

[5] There is also an attestation for 1319 of a byname *le Countereve*.
[6] See note in Appendix 6 for the sources of these attestations.
[7] The *MED* entry lists documentary sources from this period, but these do not provide clear evidence for the word's use as ME.
[8] The use in *HS* is not recorded in *MED*.

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
custumer	adj	0	0	0	H	0	1	1
damage	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
dame	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
daun	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
daunce	n	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
dauncen	v	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
daungerous	adj	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
daunten	v	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
debonaire	n	0	1[10]	B	1	1	1	1
deceite	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
deceivable	adj	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
deceiven	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
decre	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
defaute	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
defoulen	v	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
degre	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
deinen	v 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
deis	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
delaie	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
delaien	v 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
delitable	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
delite	n 1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
deliten	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
deliveren	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
depeinten	v	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
deraie	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
descrien	v	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
descriven	v	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
desert	n 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
desir	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
desiren	v	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
desiringe	ger	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
despisen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
despit	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
dette	n	0	1	*	1	1	1	1
devis	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
devisen	v	0	*	0	1	1	1	1
dignite	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
dinen	v 2	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
diner	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
disconfiten	v	0	1	0	1	1	1	1

[9] Attested 1272–1273 as vernacular (most likely English) compound in a Latin document: 'Idem respondent de ci s. ii d. ob. de redditu termini Sancti Andreae cum le custumpund' (*MED*).
[10] This is an attestation for the adjective, not the noun; they are included in a single entry in the *MED*.

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
disgisen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
disheritesoun	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
dismaien	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
disour	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
disport	n	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
distourblen	v	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
distourblinge	ger	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
distresse	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
distroublen	v	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
ditour	n	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
dol	n 2	0	*	1	1	1	1	1
doute	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
douten	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
dragoun	n	B	0	1	1	1	1	1
dressen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
emperour	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
enamoured	adj/v	0	0	0	1	*	1	1
encens	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
encensen	v 1	0	0	*	H	1	1	1
enchesoun	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
encombre	n	0	0	0	C	0	0	1
encombren	v	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
enditement	n	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
enditen	v	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
enemi	n	0	*	0	1	1	1	1
enoiling	ger	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
enointen	adj	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
enointing	ger	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
ensaumple	n	0	0	*[11]	1	1	1	1
entente	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
entering	ger	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
enticement	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
enticen	v	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
entre	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
envie	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
envious	adj 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
escapen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
ese	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
esquaymous[12]	adj	0	0	0	H	0	0	0
estat	n	0	1	*	1	1	1	1
estre	n	0	*	1	1	1	1	1
face	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1

[11] The related form **asaumple** is also attested in 1250 in the Nero manuscript of the *Ancrene Riwle*.
[12] As there is no entry in the *MED* for this word, the form as used in *HS* is given.

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
fade	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
faden	v1	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
faile	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
failen	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
fauchoun	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
faute	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
feble	adj	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
feblenesse	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
febling	ger	0	0	0	H	0	1	1
feint	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
feintise	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
feith	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
fel	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
felliche	adv	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
felonie	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
feloun	n 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
feloun	adj	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
felounliche	adv	0	0	0	1	*	1	1
felouns	adj	0	0	*	*	1	1	1
felounsli	adv	0	0	0	*	0	1	0
flecchen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
floren	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
foisoun	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
fol	n	0	1[13]	*	1	1	1	1
fol	adj	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
fol-hardi	adj	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
foli	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
folie	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
folili	adv	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
folt	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
folted	adj	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
forbarren	v	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
force	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
forein	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
foundour	n 1	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
fraunchise	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
frere	n	0	1	B	1	1	1	1
fruit	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
gile	n 3	*	1	1	1	1	1	1
gilen	v 1	*	1	1	1	1	1	1
gise	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1

[13] This use is in a gloss to an OE manuscript (this *MED* stencil is drawn from S. J. Crawford, 'The Worcester Marks and Glosses of the Old English Manuscripts in the Bodleian,' *Anglia* 52.1 (1928), 1–25).

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
grace	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
graunten	v	0	*	1	1	1	1	1
hardi	a	B	1	1	1	1	1	1
heritage	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
manere	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
manuele	n	0	0	0	H[14]	0	1	1
maumet	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
messager	n	B	1	1	1	1	1	1
mountaine	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
nointen	v	0	0	0	H	0	0	1
paien	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
passen	v	0	1	*	1	1	1	1
pes	n	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
pesen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
phisicien	n	0	1	B	1	1	1	1
povre	adj	*	1	1	1	1	1	1
prive	adj 1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
sacre	n 2	0	0	0	H	0	1	1
sacrifien	v	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
sauf	adj	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
saufli	adv	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
saumple	n	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
saven	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
saveour	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
savour	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
savouren	v	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
sclaundre	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
scomfiten	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
scorn	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
scornen	v	*	1	1	1	1	1	1
scornere	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
scorninge	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
scourge	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
scrivein	n	0	B	0	1	1	1	1
scroue	n	0	1	0	*	1	1	1
se	n 2	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
segge	n 2	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
seignorie	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
seisine	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
selen	v 1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
semblaunt	n	0	1	*	1	1	1	1
sergeaunt	n	B	1	1	1	1	1	1

[14] The use in *HS*, *manuel*, is not recorded among the *MED* quotations for this entry, though that spelling is found among the other quotations.

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
sermounen	v	0	1[15]	0	1	1	1	1
servaunt	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
simphane	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
sire	n	B	1	1	1	1	1	1
sise	n 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
sisour	n	0	0	0	H	*[16]	1	1
sobrete	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
sodeinli	adv	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
sojournen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
sopere	n 1	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
souchen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
soverain	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
specialte	n	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
speire	n	0	0	0	C	*	1	1
spousaille	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
spouse-breche	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
spurgen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
squier	n	B	*	0	1	1	1	1
squilere	n	0	B	0	H	1	1	1
store	n 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
stourblen	v	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
stoute	adj	B	0	0	1	1	1	1
stoute	adv	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
stouten	v	0	0	0	C	0	0	0
stoutli	adv	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
straunge	adj	B	0	*	1	1	1	1
streit	adj	0	*	1	1	1	1	1
streite	adv	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
streitli	adv	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
stresse	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
stressen	v	0	0	0	C	*	1	1
strife	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
striven	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
stroien	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
surfeture	n	0	0	0	H	0	0	1
sustenen	v	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
taverne	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1

[15] This attestation is from the *Lambeth Homilies*. The *MED* stencil *Lamb.Hom.* has the date 'a1225(?OE)' assigned to it, suggesting a possible OE origin. However, only some of the Lambeth Homilies have OE precursors and these are known. They do not include a use of **sermounen**, which is also not recorded in the corpus behind the *DOE*, which however frequently records *sermo* and its forms (and occasinoally the Latin verb) in the Latin text corresponding to the OE quotations. The only example of English use in *DOE* is *sermun* in the *Witney Benedictine Rule*, an early ME version of about the same date as the *Lambeth Homilies*.

[16] Attested as a byname in 1303 and 1379.

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
tender	adj	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
terlyncel[17]	n	0	0	0	H	0	0	0
termagaunt	n	0	*	1	1	1	*	1
terme	n	0	1	*	1	1	1	1
termes	n pl	0	0	0	H	0	0	0
ticement	n	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
ticen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
tiffen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
tiffinge	ger	0	1	0	H	1	1	1
tifure	n	0	0	0	H	0	0	0
tormentour	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
touchen	v	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
touchinge	ger	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
tournement	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
tourneour	n	0	0	0	H	0	0	1
traitour	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
traitourhede	n	0	0	0	H	0	1	1
traitourie	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
traitourous	adj	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
travail	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
travailen	v	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
tresourie	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
trecherie	n	0	1	*	1	1	1	1
trechour	n 1	0	B	0	1	1	1	1
treisoun	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
tresour	n	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
tresourer	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
trespas	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
trespassen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
tretable	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
trompe	n	0	0	B	1	1	1	1
trufle	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
uncertain	adj	1	1	1	*	1	1	1
unchargen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
uncourteis	adj	0	0	0	1	*	1	1
usage	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
vailaunt	adj	B	B	B	1	1	1	1
vailen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
valeie	n	B	0	0	1	1	1	1
value	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
vauncement	n	0	0	0	H	0	1	0
vauncen	v	0	0	0	H	0	*	1
vengeaunce	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1

[17] There is no entry in the *MED*.

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
vengen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
venim	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
verrei	adj	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
verreili	adv	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
verreiment	adv	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
vertu	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
vessel	n	0	B	*	1	1	1	1
vesselment	n	0	0	0	H	*	1	0
viage	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
vice	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
vilein	n	B	B	B	1	1	1	1
vileinie	n	0	1	*	1	1	1	1
vileins	adj	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
vilte	n	0	1	0	1	*	1	1
violence	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
visage	n	0	0	B	1	1	1	1
vitaile	n	0	0	B	1	1	1	1
voice	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
voide	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
vouchen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
voue	n 1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
wagour	n	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
waiten	v	0	1	B	1	1	1	1
waitinge	ger	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
waranting	ger	0	0	0	H	0	0	1
wardein	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
warisoun	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
waste	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
waste	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
wasten	v	B	1	1	1	1	1	1
wastene	n	0	1	0	*	*	1	1
weiven	v 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
werre	n	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
werren	v	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

7.2 Words Attested from 1100 or 1200

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
accorden	v	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
amenden	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
assaillen	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
attournen	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
aventure	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
baroun	n pl	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
blamen	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
cacchen	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
chalengen	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
charite	n	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
chaste	adj	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
chasten	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
chaumbre	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
chaungen	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
chere	n 1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
cite	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
comfort	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
crien	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
crois	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
dame	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
delite	n 1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
deliten	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
deliveren	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
douten	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
ese	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
failen	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
feble	adj	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
fol	adj	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
folie	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
fruit	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
gile	n 3	*	1	1	1	1	1	1
gilen	v 1	*	1	1	1	1	1	1
grace	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
hardi	a	B	1	1	1	1	1	1
manere	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
maumet	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
messager	n	B	1	1	1	1	1	1
paien	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
pes	n	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
povre	adj	*	1	1	1	1	1	1
saven	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
scorn	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
scornen	v	*	1	1	1	1	1	1
scorninge	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
scourge	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
segge	n 2	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
sergeaunt	n	B	1	1	1	1	1	1
servaunt	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
sire	n	B	1	1	1	1	1	1
strife	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
striven	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
stroien	v	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
tender	adj	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
traitour	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
treisoun	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
tresour	n	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
trufle	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
uncertain	adj	1	1	1	*	1	1	1
vertu	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
wardein	n	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
wasten	v	B	1	1	1	1	1	1
werre	n	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
werren	v	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

7.3 Words Attested between 1200–1250 and after 1300

Note: the data below are based on the *MED* alone. As discussed in 4.3.2, several words in this category are attested in *LAEME* in texts dated to 1250–1300.

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
accidie	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
alas	int	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
amendement	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
angwisshe	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
aqueintaunce	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
auctorite	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
bacin	n	0	1	*	1	1	1	1
banere	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
beggen	v	0	1	0	H	1	1	1
blame	n	0	1	*	1	1	1	1
cage	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
careine	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
champioun	n	0	1	*	1	1	1	1
chapele	n	0	1	B	1	1	1	1
chastien	v	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
chaumberlein	n	B	1	*	1	1	1	1
clergie	n	0	1	*	1	1	1	1
courteisie	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
custume	n	0	1	0[18]	1	1	1	1

[18] Attested 1272–1273 as vernacular (most likely English) compound in a Latin document: 'Idem respondent de ci s. ii d. ob. de redditu termini Sancti Andreae cum le custumpund' (*MED*).

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
daungerous	adj	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
debonaire	n	0	1[19]	B	1	1	1	1
degre	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
depeinten	v	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
desiren	v	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
dette	n	0	1	*	1	1	1	1
dignite	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
disconfiten	v	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
doute	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
emperour	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
enchesoun	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
entente	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
estat	n	0	1	*	1	1	1	1
fol	n	0	1[20]	*	1	1	1	1
frere	n	0	1	B	1	1	1	1
heritage	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
passen	v	0	1	*	1	1	1	1
phisicien	n	0	1	B	1	1	1	1
prive	adj 1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
savour	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
scroue	n	0	1	0	*	1	1	1
selen	v 1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
semblaunt	n	0	1	*	1	1	1	1
sermounen	v	0	1[21]	0	1	1	1	1
terme	n	0	1	*	1	1	1	1
tiffinge	ger	0	1	0	H	1	1	1
tournement	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
trecherie	n	0	1	*	1	1	1	1
vileinie	n	0	1	*	1	1	1	1
vilte	n	0	1	0	1	*	1	1
voue	n 1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
waiten	v	0	1	B	1	1	1	1
waitinge	ger	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
waste	n	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
wastene	n	0	1	0	*	*	1	1

[19] This is an attestation for the adjective, not the noun; they are included in a single entry in the *MED*.
[20] This use is in a gloss to an OE manuscript (this *MED* stencil is drawn from S. J. Crawford, 'The Worcester Marks and Glosses of the Old English Manuscripts in the Bodleian,' *Anglia* 52.1 (1928), 1–25).
[21] This attestation is from the *Lambeth Homilies*. The *MED* stencil *Lamb.Hom.* has the date 'a1225(?OE)' assigned to it, suggesting a possible OE origin. However, only some of the Lambeth Homilies have OE precursors and these are known. They do not include a use of **sermounen**, which is also not recorded in the corpus behind the *DOE*, which however frequently records *sermo* and its forms (and occasinoally the Latin verb) in the Latin text corresponding to the OE quotations. The only example of English use in *DOE* is *sermun* in the *Witney Benedictine Rule*, an early ME version of about the same date as the *Lambeth Homilies*.

7.4 Words Attested from 1250

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
accord	n	0	*	1	1	1	1	1
acombren	v	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
age	n	0	*	1	1	1	1	1
amounten	v	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
anoien	v	0	*	1	1	1	1	1
apperen	v	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
aresounen	v	0	0	1	1	*	1	1
armes	n	*	0	1	1	1	1	1
assoilen	v	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
avauncen	v	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
bataille	n	0	*	1	1	1	1	1
bigilen	v	0	*	1	1	1	1	1
bounte	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
catel	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
certes	adv	0	*	1	1	1	1	1
chargen	v	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
chartre	n	0	0	1[22]	1	1	1	1
cofre	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
cokewold	n	0	*	1	1	1	1	1
commaundement	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
compaignie	n	0	*	1	1	1	1	1
couard	adj	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
coveiten	v	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
coveitous	adj	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
coveitous[23]	n	0	0	1	H	0	1	1
coveren	v1	*	0	1	1	1	1	1
defaute	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
descriven	v	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
dol	n 2	0	*	1	1	1	1	1
dragoun	n	B	0	1	1	1	1	1
envie	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
estre	n	0	*	1	1	1	1	1
fol-hardi	adj	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
graunten	v	0	*	1	1	1	1	1
mountaine	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
spouse-breche	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
streit	adj	0	*	1	1	1	1	1
termagaunt	n	0	*	1	1	1	*	1
travail	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1

[22] The attestation for this period in *MED* is in a forged charter claiming to be by Athelstan, thought to date from c. 1250.
[23] See note in Appendix 6 for the sources of these attestations.

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
travailen	v	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
tresourer	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
trespas	n	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
verrei	adj	0	0	1	1	1	1	1

7.5 Words Attested from 1300

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
abaten	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
abbeie	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
abbesse	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
abhominable	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
accounte	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
accounten	v	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
acoupen	v 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
affien	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
afforcen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
affraien	v 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
agreven	adj/v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
ajoinen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
alleggen	v 2	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
aloinen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
apeiren	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
armure	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
assemble	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
assise	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
atir	n	0	0	0	1[24]	1	1	1
atiren	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
atteinen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
aumener	n 1	0	0	B	1	1	1	1
availen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
avauncement	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
avauntage	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
aventurous	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
avis	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
avisen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
baillie	n	0	B	0	1	1	1	1
baillif	n	0	B	0	1	1	1	1
balaunce	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
beaute	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
benisoun	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1

[24] One attestation for 1300 is from the Otho *Brut*.

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
bisegen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
bitraien	v	0[25]	*	*	1	1	1	1
bliche	adj	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
bobaunce	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
bourde	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
bourden	v 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
braien	v 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
braunch	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
cainard	n	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
caitif	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
carole	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
certain	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
certain	adv	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
certainli	adv	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
chacen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
chaiere	n	0	*	*	1	1	1	1
chaine	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
charge	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
charme	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
chastisement	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
chaunce	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
chef	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
chek	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
ches	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
chesoun	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
chevisaunce	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
chois	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
claimen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
cler	adj	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
combraunce	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
combrement	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
combringe	ger	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
communalte	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
communen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
conceiven	v	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
conteinen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
contek	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
contree	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
corage	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
cosine	n	B	*	0	1	1	1	1
cote	n 2	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
courteis	n, adj	B	0	0	1	1	1	1
courteisliche	adv	0	0	0	1	1	1	1

[25] The *DOE* records an interlinear twelfth-century gloss *be-tragan* (in Aelfric's homilies).

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
coveitise	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
covenaunt	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
cover-chef	n	0	0[26]	0	1	1	1	1
creme	n 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
crie	n 1	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
criing	ger	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
croket	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
damage	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
daun	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
deceite	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
deceiven	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
defoulen	v	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
deinen	v 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
deis	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
delaie	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
delaien	v 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
delitable	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
deraie	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
desert	n 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
desir	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
despisen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
despit	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
devis	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
devisen	v	0	*	0	1	1	1	1
dinen	v 2	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
diner	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
disgisen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
disheritesoun	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
dismaien	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
disour	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
distresse	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
dressen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
enamoured	adj/v	0	0	0	1	*	1	1
encens	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
enemi	n	0	*	0	1	1	1	1
enoiling	ger	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
ensaumple	n	0	0	*[27]	1	1	1	1
enticement	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
enticen	v	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
entre	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
envious	adj 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1

[26] The *MED* entry lists documentary sources from this period, but these do not provide clear evidence for the word's use as ME.

[27] The related form **asaumple** is also attested in 1250 in the Nero manuscript of the *Ancrene Riwle*.

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
escapen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
face	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
fade	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
faile	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
fauchoun	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
faute	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
feblenesse	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
feint	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
feintise	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
feith	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
fel	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
felliche	adv	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
felonie	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
feloun	n 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
feloun	adj	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
felounliche	adv	0	0	0	1	*	1	1
flecchen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
floren	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
foisoun	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
foli	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
folili	adv	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
force	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
fraunchise	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
gise	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
pesen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
sauf	adj	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
saufli	adv	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
saveour	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
savouren	v	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
sclaundre	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
scomfiten	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
scornere	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
scrivein	n	0	B	0	1	1	1	1
se	n 2	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
seignorie	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
seisine	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
simphane	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
sise	n 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
sobrete	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
sodeinli	adv	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
sojournen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
sopere	n 1	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
souchen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
soverain	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
spousaille	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
spurgen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
squier	n	B	*	0	1	1	1	1
store	n 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
stourblen	v	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
stoute	adj	B	0	0	1	1	1	1
stoute	adv	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
stoutli	adv	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
straunge	adj	B	0	*	1	1	1	1
streitli	adv	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
sustenen	v	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
taverne	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
ticen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
tiffen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
tormentour	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
touchen	v	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
touchinge	ger	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
trechour	n 1	0	B	0	1	1	1	1
tresourie	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
trespassen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
tretable	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
trompe	n	0	0	B	1	1	1	1
unchargen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
uncourteis	adj	0	0	0	1	*	1	1
usage	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
vailaunt	adj	B	B	B	1	1	1	1
vailen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
valeie	n	B	0	0	1	1	1	1
vengeaunce	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
vengen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
venim	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
verreiment	adv	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
vessel	n	0	B	*	1	1	1	1
viage	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
vice	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
vilein	n	B	B	B	1	1	1	1
violence	n	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
visage	n	0	0	B	1	1	1	1
vitaile	n	0	0	B	1	1	1	1
voice	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
voide	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
vouchen	v	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
wagour	n	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
warisoun	n	0	0	*	1	1	1	1
waste	adj	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
weiven	v 1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
abaishen	v	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
abaven	v	0	0	0	H	*	1	1
abreggen	v	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
accordaunce	n	0	0	0	C	*	1	1
accountour	n	0	0	0	H	*	1	1
affiaunce	n	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
affrai	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
agraunten	v	0	0	0	H	0	0	1
amen	v	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
apperinge	ger	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
aprise	n 3	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
arrai	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
assai	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
avaunce	n	0	0	0	H	0	1	1
avauntement	n	0	0	0	C	0	*	1[28]
avaunten	v	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
avenaunt	n	0	0	0	C	*	1	1
avouter	n	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
avoutrie	n	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
blaunchere	n	0	0	B	B	0	*	1
bonairté	n	0	0	0	H	*	1	1
carolen	v	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
caroling	ger	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
certain	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
certainte	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
chastisen	v	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
chastisinge	n	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
chauncel	n	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
cler	adv	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
code	n 1	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
combren	v	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
consentour	n	0	0	0	H	0	1	1
cor-seint	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
couardise	n	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
counte	n 3	0	0	0	C[29]	*	1	1
covenaunt	adj	0	0	0	H	0	*	1
coveringe	ger	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
covine	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
cronicle	n	0	0	0	H	1	1	1

[28] There are two attestations in texts with the *MED* stencil ‘a1500’. With no column available for that date, these are included in the period 1450–1499.
[29] There is also an attestation for 1319 of a byname *le Countereve*.

MED headword		1100 to 1199	1200 to 1249	1250 to 1299	1300 to 1349	1350 to 1399	1400 to 1449	1450 to 1499
custumable	adj	0	0	0	H	*	1	1
custumable	adv	0	0	0	H	*	1	1
custumabli	adv	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
custumabli	adj	0	0	0	H[30]	0	1	1
custumer	adj	0	0	0	H	0	1	1
daunce	n	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
dauncen	v	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
daunten	v	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
deceivable	adj	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
decre	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
descrien	v	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
desiringe	ger	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
disport	n	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
distourblen	v	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
distourblinge	ger	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
distroublen	v	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
ditour	n	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
encensen	v 1	0	0	*	H	1	1	1
encombre	n	0	0	0	C	0	0	1
encombren	v	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
enditement	n	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
enditen	v	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
enointen	adj	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
enointing	ger	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
entering	ger	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
faden	v1	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
febling	ger	0	0	0	H	0	1	1
felouns	adj	0	0	*	*	1	1	1
felounsli	adv	0	0	0	*	0	1	0
folt	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
folted	adj	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
forbarren	v	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
forein	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
foundour	n 1	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
manuele	n	0	0	0	H[31]	0	1	1
nointen	v	0	0	0	H	0	0	1
sacre	n 2	0	0	0	H	0	1	1
sacrifien	v	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
saumple	n	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
sisour	n	0	0	0	H	*[32]	1	1

[30] The use in *HS* is not recorded in *MED*.
[31] The use in *HS*, *manuel*, is not recorded among the *MED* quotations for this entry, though that spelling is found among the other quotations.
[32] Attested as a byname in 1303 and 1379.

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
specialte	n	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
speire	n	0	0	0	C	*	1	1
squilere	n	0	B	0	H	1	1	1
streite	adv	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
stresse	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
stressen	v	0	0	0	C	*	1	1
surfeture	n	0	0	0	H	0	0	1
ticement	n	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
tourneour	n	0	0	0	H	0	0	1
traitourhede	n	0	0	0	H	0	1	1
traitourie	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
traitourous	adj	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
value	n	0	0	0	C	1	1	1
vauncement	n	0	0	0	H	0	1	0
vauncen	v	0	0	0	H	0	*	1
verreili	adv	0	0	0	*	1	1	1
vesselment	n	0	0	0	H	*	1	0
vileins	adj	0	0	0	H	1	1	1
waranting	ger	0	0	0	H	0	0	1

7.7 Unattested Words

***MED* headword**		**1100 to 1199**	**1200 to 1249**	**1250 to 1299**	**1300 to 1349**	**1350 to 1399**	**1400 to 1449**	**1450 to 1499**
borgh-gage	n	0	0	0	H	0	0	0
chauncefulliche	adv	0	0	0	H	0	0	0
com-mare	n	0	0	0	H	0	0	0
combre	n	0	0	0	C	0	0	0
countre-paye	n	0	0	0	H	0	0	0
custome-houses	n	0	0	0	H	0	0	0
esquaymous[33]	adj	0	0	0	H	0	0	0
stouten	v	0	0	0	C	0	0	0
terlyncel[34]	n	0	0	0	H	0	0	0
termes	n pl	0	0	0	H	0	0	0
tifure	n	0	0	0	H	0	0	0

[33] As there is no entry in the *MED* for this word, the form as used in *HS* is given.
[34] There is no entry in the *MED*.

Appendix 8: Vocabulary of Mixed Origins in *Handlyng Synne*

This appendix lists words excluded from my *Handlyng Synne* data set. This is often because an exclusively French origin cannot be determined or is less likely than mixed influence from Latin (and occasional other languages). For some, however, the form is most probably an error. The entries in the *MED*, Gburek's concordance and *OED* are given, followed by the etymon and the number of times the word is found in *HS*. These last two points are based on the information in Gburek's concordance. The etymological note has in some cases been modified and additional information relevant to the etymology may be found in footnotes. Comments of the type 'attested from 1300' mean that a word is attested at least once every fifty-year period from that time, based on the *MED* manuscript datings. Classification of the etymon as ONF (Old Northern French) derives from Gburek. If the *MED* headword is italicised, this indicates the word is found also in *Kyng Alisaunder*; if it is in bold, the word is also found in Laȝamon's *Brut*. A number following the part of speech indicates the relevant entry in the *MED* or *OED*.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**Etymological note**	**x**
affinite	n	affynyte	affinity	OF afinité[1]	2
affliccioun	n	afflyccyun	affliction	OF aflicion[2]	4
amorous	adj	amerous	amorous	OF amerous, cf. L amorosus[3]	2
apassen	adj	a-passyd	apassed, apast cf. apass	OF apasser (only ppl. in ME)	1[4]
aperte	adv	apert	apert B	from OF apert, adj and L apertus, aperte	2
aperteli	adv	apertly	apertly	from *apert*	10
apostle	n	apostle	apostle	OE apostol, OF apostle, both from L apostolus	7
appetit	n	appetyte	appetite n	OF apetit, L appetitus	1[5]

[1] The *OED3* entry concludes **affinity** is of mixed origins, partly from Latin.
[2] The *OED3* entry concludes **affliction** is of mixed origins, partly from Latin.
[3] **Amorous** is attested from 1300.
[4] This word is only in MS H, where it is to be attributed to the copyist (Gburek). The other manuscripts read *and passed*. It has therefore been left out of consideration.
[5] Attestations in the *MED* are in a later manuscript for a text dated to 1349 and in manuscripts from 1350 on.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**Etymological note**	**x**
aquitaunce	n	a-quytaunce	acquittance	OF aquitance, ML acquietantia	1[6]
arguen	v	argueþ	argue	OF argüer	1
arrogaunce	n	arrogaunce	arrogance	OF arrogance	2
art	n 1	artt	art n	OF art, L art-em	1
armen	v	armyde	arm v 1	OF armer, L armare[7]	1
assent	n	asent	assent	OF as(s)ent	6
assenten	v	asent	assent v	OF assentir[8]	1
attente	n	atent	attent n	OF atente cf. *tent*, *entent*[9]	3
aungel	n	aungel	angel	OF angel cf. L angelus, OE engel[10]	25
auter	n	auter	altar	OF auter cf. OE alter, altare, L altare	22
avarice	n	auaryce	avarice	OF avarice cf. L avaritia[11]	22
averous	adj	auarous	avarous	OF averos, L avarus	2
avouen	v 2	a-voweþ	avow v 2	OF (a)vouer[12]	5
bagge	n 1	bagge	bag	ON baggi, cf. OF bague, ML bagga	3
bapteme	n	bapteme	baptism	OF bapteme, L baptismus	13
baptisen	v	baptyse	baptize v	OF baptiser, L baptizare	7
baptist	n 1	baptyst	baptist	OF baptiste, L baptista	1
benedicite	int	benedicite	benedicite	L benedicite	1

[6] Attestations in the *MED* show only texts by Mannyng before 1350, and manuscripts in each fifty-year period after that.
[7] The *OED3* entry also concludes the word is of mixed origins. The verb is attested from 1250.
[8] This influence of this OF word cannot be distinguished on formal grounds from that of Latin *assentare*. Both noun and verb are attested from 1300.
[9] For the adjective (attested from the fifteenth century), the *OED* concludes it is derived from Latin *attentus*. For the noun it points primarily to OF, but there is no clear formal distinction. The noun is attested from 1250.
[10] Gburek points to Hans Käsmann for the argument that forms in <*au*> can with certainty be ascribed to French influence (*Studien zum kirchlichen Wortschatz des Mittelenglischen*). As it is the word's general provenance rather than that of specific uses I am interested in, I have excluded it from my main data set.
[11] The Latin etymon of the French form is *avaritia*. In *MED*, the sense under which the *HS* usage is listed is not attested otherwise until c1390 ('reluctance to give' rather than 'acquisitiveness'). **Avarice** is attested from 1300.
[12] The *OED* gives attestations from *HS* under both **avow** (v 1) and (v 2) and notes that already in OF the two verbs *vouer* were confused. For **avouen** (v 2) the *MED* also gives classical Latin *vovere* as etymon. **Avouen** (v 2) is attested from 1300 onwards, as is **avouen** (v 1).

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**Etymological note**	**x**
	erj				
benefice	n	benefyces	benefice	OF benefice, L beneficium	1
besaunt	n	besaunt	bezant, byzant	OF besan(z), L byzantius	6
beste	n	beste	beast n	OF beste[13]	14
bible	n	byble	bible	OF bible, L biblia	9
bis	n 1	bys	byss n 1	OF bysse and L byssus[14]	1
bondage	n	bondage	bondage n	AN bondage, AL bondagium, from ME *bond*[15]	2
bord	n	borde	board n	ME sense from OF bord 'side'[16]	4
bost	n	boste	boast n	AN bost[17]	4
bostful	n	bostful	boastful	ME fr AN bost	2
bostli	n	bostely	–	ME fr AN bost	1
cas	n	kas	case n 1	OF cas, L casus	25
castel	n	castel	Castle n	OE and ONF castel	5
caversin	n	kauersyns	coarsin	OF caoursin[18]	2
celle	n	celle	cell n 1	OE cell and OF celle	10
cesen	v	secede	cease v	OF cesser[19]	1
chalice	n	chaleys	chalice	OF chalice[20], L calix	2

[13] Latin *bestia* will have had some influence at least, and considering that the ending would have weakened in ME it cannot be excluded as partial source. Interesting in this respect is that several quotations in the *MED* entry note the Latin source of the word (e.g. translating *bestis* in the Wycliffite bible).

[14] This is attested from c. 1300. A form in <-*us*> was used after the Middle Ages; it is interesting in that it seems to have been used as a word for a fine or expensive fabric without too much knowledge of its origins.

[15] This is attested from c. 1390 and in the *Story of England*. It is found in the *AND*, with this spelling. The 'natural English formation[s]' *bondehede* and *bondescip* (as *OED* writes) are rare and similarly late in their attestations.

[16] Two common Germanic nouns *bord* were confused from early times; the second, with perhaps a core meaning 'edge, rim' and thus 'side of a ship' was reinforced in ME by French (*à*) *bord* and possibly also by ON.

[17] The etymology is uncertain; the *OED* posits that an unattested OF **boster* would be most likely, while the *MED* points to the AF word which it links to possible Germanic analogues. The sole quotation for **bost** in the *AND* is from the *Tretiz*, c. 1250. In *MED* the word appears common from c. 1300, with one use in a text dated to 1265 surviving in a later manuscript, and as a byname in 1246.

[18] The *OED* lists Latin too as etymon. Gburek discusses possible explanations for the variant forms, which include *tauuarsyns* and *gannokerys*.

[19] Latin *cessare* has similar senses; unless very much weakened, the *a*-stem would differentiate it clearly from the French verb. There is no influence of it on the ME spellings. Nevertheless, it is close enough in form that for multilingual individuals they must have seemed parallel, which will have aided the introduction of the verb in English. **Cesen** is attested from 1300.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**Etymological note**	**x**
chapitle	n	chapytyl	chapitle	OF chapitle[21]	2
circum-staunce	n	cyrcum-stauncys	circum-stance n	OF circumstance, L circumstantia)	2
clerk	n	clerk	clerk n	OE clerc and OF clerc	67
cloistre	n	cloystre	cloister n	OF cloistre cf. OE cluster[22]	1
closen	v	closed	close v	OF clos- from inf. clore[23]	2
colour	n	coloure	colour n	OF colour, L color	4
comforten	v	cumforteþ	comfort v	OF cun-, conforter, L confortare[24]	6
commaunden	v	comaunde	command v	OF comander[25]	25

[20] The etymological note in the *OED* is of great interest for contextualising this word. It concludes that Latin *calix* was borrowed into English in four separate ways (twice in OE and twice in ME), yielding clearly different forms. The form found here (which is an attested AF spelling) was borrowed before 1350 from the OF *chalice*, ousting an earlier form from OF, *calice*. The form in <*ch*-> is attested from 1300 in the *MED*; forms in <*c*-> appear in the *Peterborough Chronicle* (a. 1121) and from the start of the thirteenth century up to 1340.

[21] Both *OED* and *MED* have separate entries for **chapitle** (from French) and **capitle** (from Latin *capitulum*, borrowed in OE). In meaning they are very similar; the difference appears to be the form and the earliest time of attestation (from OE and also in ME for **capitle** and from 1300 on for **chapitle**). Given the complexity of the word field, this word cannot be considered as of French origin only. **Chap(i)tre** should be a later formation (reflecting a change in OF, though *MED* just notes it is 'from chapitle') but is attested in the *Ancrene Wisse* and from 1300. Gburek points out that the sense given in the *MED* is wrong: a sense 'Kapitelhaus' is needed in context, not 'a body of dignitaries in session'.

[22] Gburek notes that MS B has the spelling *cloustre* instead.

[23] The *OED* discusses OE *clysan* from Latin, which yielded forms *clusen* by the thirteenth century, and notes that *closen* was probably first seen as a Frenchified pronunciation of *clusen*. The *MED* has separate entries for the two and does not indicate OE or Latin influence for **closen**. No attestations given under **closen** have spellings in <-*u*->. All attestations of **clusen** in the *MED* are from *LB* (with the Otho version maintaining the <-*u*->); similarly, the single instance in *LAEME* (*clusung*) is in a text with an archaising tendency (Tremulous hand of Worcester, text 173: *Aelfric's Grammar and Glossary*). The *AND* does not give forms in <-*u*->, though in the actual quotations there is an instance of *la Cluse* from 1275. The question remains whether **clusen** and **closen** were continuous, one succeeding the other. **Clusen** might have disappeared, some of the many synonyms listed in the *HTOED* taking its place but none becoming the dominant word for this concept, and **closen** stepping into that gap later. However, with only five years between the latest manuscript date for **clusen** and the earliest dated text with **closen** (though in a later manuscript), this seems the less probable reading.

[24] The *OED* does not specifically point to possible Latin influence on the ME word, but the *MED* does give both OF and Latin as etymology. The Latin form, *confortare*, is close enough to allow for this. The change to <*com*-> from <*con*-> is apparently English. The noun was a French formation, not Latin, so that remains in Appendix 6.

[25] Despite the similar form of Latin *commandare*, neither *OED* nor *MED* indicates its possible role in forming the ME word. The *OED* notes that the Latin verbs *commendare* and *commandare* occur with interchangeable spellings and senses, pointing to Du Cange; but the *DMLBS* does not record uses corresponding in both form and sense to ME **commaunden**. For **commend** (v), the *OED* gives Latin as main source. The *OED3* entry for **recommaund** concludes it is of French origin (while for **recommend** the conclusion points towards mixed origins). Spellings for both **commaunden** and **commaundement** include many in <-*an*-> rather than <-*aun*->; for **recommaunden** there are few in <-*an*->. *Comaundment* is attested earlier so may also have had an influence; however, there, too, an (unattested according to *OED*) **commandamentum* as partial source cannot be excluded. **Commaunden** is attested from 1300.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**Etymological note**	**x**
commune	adj	comun	common adj	OF com(m)une, L communis[26]	9
communeli	adv	comunly	commonly	from *commune*	21
conferme-ment	n	confyrment	confirmment	OF confirmement[27]	1
confermen	v	conferme	confirm	OF confermer[28]	5
confirma-cioun	n	confyrma-cyun	confirmation	OF confirmation, L confirmation-	6
confounden	v	confoundeþ	confound	AN confoundre, OF confundre, L confundere	6
confusioun	n	confusyun	confusion	OF confusion, L confusion-	4
conjuren	v	coniure	conjure v	OF conjurer, L conjurare	3
consenten	v	consente	consent v	OF consentir, L consentire	13
contricioun	n	contrycyun	contrition	OF contriciun, L contricionem[29]	2
corde	n	cordys	cord n 1	OF corde[30]	1
coroune	n	krowne	crown n	AN coroune, ON krúna[31]	6
counseil	n	cunseyl	council and counsel, n	OF cunseil, conseil, cuncile from L consilium or concilium[32]	29
counseilen	v	cunseyl	counsel v	AN cunseiler	6
counseiler	n	cunseler	councillor, counsellor n	AN cunseiler, -iour	5
coupable	adj	coupable	culpable	OF coupable, L culpabilis	4

[26] One instance is in the phrase *yn comune*, as a semi-noun (Gburek).
[27] The ML word was *confirmamentum*. The ME word is attested between 1300–1350 and after 1400. The word is included in the *AND*, but not in this spelling.
[28] The main distinction between ME forms from OF and Latin seems to be the spelling *conferm* versus *confirm*. The form as given here therefore suggests more OF than Latin influence. The word is attested from 1250 (in a charter supposedly by Athelstan, in the phrase 'grantye and confirmye', with the two words nicely suppelementing each other, both loans). This use also shows that the Latinate spellings, though rare, are found early, so that Latin influence in the forming of the ME word cannot be excluded.
[29] This word is attested from 1350, with one use in an earlier text (1300–1350) surviving in a later manuscript. The *AND* entry includes this spelling.
[30] Latin *chorda*, in similar senses, is also attested with a spelling *corda* in the *DMLBS*, although the *OED* etymology does not suggest a direct influence. The byname *corde-maker* is attested in 1199. As this is an English compound it is some sign of actual integration. After that the noun is attested from 1300.
[31] Forms in <*kr*>/<*cr*> in *HS* are only in the sense 'scheitel des Kopfes', so not syncopated forms of the AF etymon but straight from ON (Gburek). Only two uses in *HS* take the form <*cor-*>.
[32] The two Latin etymons were confused from the earliest ME uses (Gburek). Forms in ME show <*con*> frequently, so that a role for the Latin noun cannot be excluded.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**Etymological note**	**x**
cours	n	cours	course n	OF cours	1
court	n 1	court	court n 1	OF court[33]	7
covent	n	couent	convent n	OF covent[34]	1
coveren	v 2	couerd	cover v 2	OF covrer and aphetic from OE acofrian	1
creatour	n	creatoure	creator	AN creatour, L creator	3
creature	n	creature	creature n	OF creature, L creatura	6
cristal	n	cristal	crystal n etc. A	OF cristal	1
cristianite	n	crystyanyte	christianity	ME from L christianitas and OF crestienté	3
crucifix	n	crucyfyx	crucifix n	AN crucifix from ML crucifixus[35]	4
curtine	n	curteynes	curtain n 1	OF courtine[36]	1
dampnable	adj	dampnable	damnable	OF dam(p)nable, ML dam(p)nabilis[37]	3
dampnacioun	n	dampnacyun	damnation	OF dampnacion	6
dampnen	v	dampne	damn v	OF dampner[38]	15
defamacioun	n	dyffamacyun	defamation	OF diffamacion	1
defamen	v	dyffame	defame v	OF diffamer, defa-	3
defenden	v	defende	defend v	OF defendre, ML defendere (cf. *fenden* v)[39]	8

[33] In classical Latin there was already a form *cors* shortened from *cohors*, with accusative *cortem*; the *DMLBS* in its entry **cors** records numerous uses of this form in the OE period already (see also *DOE* **curt**, which suggests a mainly AF source). ME forms include both *curt* and *cort*, with the latter found as early as 1340. The noun is attested from 1150.

[34] Latin *conventum* differed clearly from the OF form, which had lost the <-*n*-> at least in pronunciation. The *MED* however includes the Latin form in its etymology.

[35] Gburek argues that the use in *HS* was indebted more to OF, as the four uses in the text are close together (in 11 lines) and directly translate from the source, which has *le crucifix*'. He cites Käsmann for the view that the ME word in general is more likely to derive from Church Latin. My interest in the word's general provenance leads me to follow Käsmann instead.

[36] The OF word derives from Latin *cortina*. Neither *OED* nor *MED* indicates possible interference from this and forms in <-*u*-> or <-*ou*-> suggest a French origin, but spellings that could derive from Latin are found as early as 1375 in the *MED*, with just a few earlier attestations.

[37] For 1300–1350, this word is attested only in a text surviving in a later manuscript. **Dampnacioun** is attested from 1300. Related terms have similar or later attestations. For **dammage** I noted that a <*p*> indicated possible Latin influence; for these words the *OED* is not nearly so clear, stating for example "French *damnable*, in 12–13th cent. *dampnable* , < Latin *dam(p)nābilis* , < *damnāre*". Latin influence on these ME forms is not certain, but cannot be excluded. The *OED* entries for the verb and adjective do not indicate direct Latin influence, but the *MED* entries simply state it is from 'ML & OF'.

[38] The ME word is attested from 1200, but for 1250–1300 only in a text surviving in a later manuscript, and in the theological sense from 1300. The legal sense is the earliest attested sense.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**Etymological note**	**x**
defense	n	defense	defend v	OF defens(e)[40]	2
delicious	adj	delycyus	delicious	OF delicious[41]	2
deliciousli	adv	delycyusly	deliciously	from *delicious*	1
departen	v	departed	depart v	OF departir[42]	5
departinge	ger	departyng	departing	ME from *departen* v	1
desert	n 2	deserte	desert n 2	OF desert, ML desertum[43]	1
destroien	v	destroye	destroy v	OF destruire cf. stroye[44]	3
devocioun	n	deuocyoun	devotion	OF devociun, L devotion-em	9
devout	adj	deuoute	devout adj etc.	OF devout, L devotus	1
devoutli	adv	deuoutely	devoutly	ME from *devout*	2
digne	adj	dygne	digne	OF digne	3
diminucioun	n	dymynucyun	diminution	AN diminuciun	1
discrecioun	n	dyscrecyoun-ne	discretion	OF discrecion	2

[39] The ME form is attested from 1250.

[40] The OF word *defense* represents the learned form; the popular form would be 'Old French *des-*, *def-*, *defeis*, *defois*, Norman *défais*, and *defeise*, *defoise*' (*OED*). Under the verb the *OED* also discusses the semantic development, the sense 'prohibit' being a Romanic extension. Neither *OED* nor *MED* suggests a Latin origin for some of the ME uses, although the *OED* gives the Latin forms *defensum* and *defensa* as sources for the OF word. For the verb, the Latin connection is mentioned, however. The ME noun is attested from 1300.

[41] The noun **delice** is attested c. 1230 (*Ancrene Wisse*) and from 1300. **Delicious** and **deliciousli** are both attested from 1300. Other noun forms are rare and quite late. The adverb is only attested once before 1390, apart from the *HS* use. Neither *OED* nor *MED* suggests Latin influence on the ME form, although a derivation from *deliciosus* (or *delicium* for *delice*) would not be impossible. The formal distinction hinges on the ending and is thus no good indicator of a lack of Latin influence. The semantic range of the ME adjective may be slightly narrower than in AF, with senses like 'weak, feeble' not clearly present.

[42] Like **deliveren**, this verb has various senses that are also found in the *AND*. The Latin etymon of the OF verb, *dispertire*, is attested in British sources only well before the Conquest. The *DMLBS* also has an entry **departire**, which it indicates is Late Latin and is attested in the ME period. On formal grounds influence of the Latin form cannot be excluded and it is not derived from the French form. Compare the *OED3* entry for **part** (v), which concludes that verb is of mixed Latin and French origin. The verb is attested first in a text dated to 1250–1300 surviving in a later manuscript; the gerund is first attested between 1200–1250 and then from 1300.

[43] The ME form is attested from 1200, but for 1250–1300 only in a text surviving in a later manuscript. The adjective is also attested in a later manuscript only for 1250–1300. For the adjective, the *MED* gives the Latin as the first etymon, unlike the *OED*.

[44] The ME form is attested between 1200–1250 and from 1300; the *MED* etymology gives both OF and Latin *destruere*, while the *OED* does not mention the latter.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**Etymological note**	**x**
dishonour	n	dysonour	dishonour n	OF des(h)onour[45]	1
disonouren	v	dysonourest	dishonour v	OF des(h)onorer	1
dismembren	v	dysmembre	dismember	OF desmembrer[46]	1
dispenden	v	dyspende	dispend	OF despendre[47]	7
distincten	v	dystyncte	distinct v	OF distincter, L distinctus	1
diverse	adj	dyuers	divers, diverse	OF divers, L diversus	4
divine	n	dyuyne	divine adj etc.	OF devin, L divinus	2
doctour	n	doctours	doctor n	OF doctour, L doctor	1
dormer	n	dormers	–	unknown[48]	1
duren	v	dure	dure v	OF durer, L durare	4
eleccyoun	n	eleccioun	election	AN eleccioun, L electionem[49]	5
enqueren	v	enquere	inquire, enquire v	OF enquerre, L inquerere[50]	1
enterlude	n	enterludes	interlude n	OF entrelude, ML interludium	1
erren	v 1	erre	err v 1	OF errer, L errare[51]	3

[45] For **honour** (v) and (n), there are *OED3* entries, which conclude they are of both French and Latin origin. The entries for **dishonour** (v) and (n) are not yet revised. The *OED* points out that, although composed of elements present in classical Latin, the noun **dishonour** is a Romanic formation. Du Cange records it in the later tenth century, but also has the verb at an earlier date. The *DMLBS* gives two attestations of the verb and points out the parallel OF form. By the time the ME word was borrowed, influence of Latin forms cannot be excluded, though the French forms are more probably the direct source, certainly for the noun. **Dishonour** is attested from 1300; the verb is also used in a text dated to 1250–1300 surviving in a later manuscript.

[46] Although the main ME form is derived from OF *desmembrer*, the close similarity of Latin *demembrare* may well lie behind two ME spellings in <*de-*> (both c1380), and there is only one earlier attestation in <*des-*>. Both spellings are also recorded in the *AND*, but if the French and Latin forms cannot be distuinguished, then exclusively French origin of the ME form cannot be determined based on these criteria. **Dismembren** is attested from 1300.

[47] The Latin verb was *dispendere*; neither *MED* nor *OED* indicates possible influence of this form. **Expenden**, from Latin *expendere*, was not used until the fifteenth century; **spenden** is from OE, but with possible influence of the French and Latin verbs. **Dispenden** is attested from 1300, but **expenden** from at least 1200 and the gerund from 1150. The existence of this OE form will have aided the adoption of the French and later Latin verbs. The use in line 1203 must be ascribed to scribe H only (Gburek).

[48] Gburek's lengthy discussion of this form concludes that it is most likely an error and suggests either a form *domers* or *demerys* (present in MS Dulwich XXIV) as having been used by Mannyng. The *MED* gives an etymology related to OF *dormir*, which Gburek concedes is the best option if we try to explain the form *dormer* itself.

[49] The ME form is attested from 1300. Related words are attested later.

[50] The ME form is attested from 1300. Mannyng uses it in its legal sense (also attested from 1300).

[51] The ME form is attested from 1350, with a use in a text dated between 1300–1350 surviving only in a later manuscript.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**Etymological note**	**x**
errour	n 1	errour	error	OF errour[52]	2
evangelist	n	euangylyst	evangelist	OF evangeliste, L evangelista	1
examinen	v	examyne	examine v	OF examiner, L examinare[53]	1
excusen	v	excuse	excuse v	OF excuser, L excusare[54]	4
executour	n	executoure	executor	AN executour, ML executor	24
extente	n	extente	extent n	AN extente[55]	1
heir	n	eyre	heir n	AN (h)eir, L heres[56]	18
fallace	n	fallace	fallace n	OF fallace (at adj cf. L fallac-)	2
falsen	v	false	false v	OF falser, L falsare[57]	4
fame	n 1	fame	fame n 1	OF fame (L fama)	16
famen	v 1	fame	fame v 1	OF famer cf. L famare	1
fantom	n	fantome	phantom	OF fantosme, L phantasma[58]	2
faucoun	n	faucoun	falcon n	OF faucon, L falcon-em[59]	1
fe	n 2	fe	fee n 2	AN fee, cf. ME fe (n 1)[60]	1
feire	n	feyre	fair n 1	OF feire[61]	2
fenden	v	fende	fend v	aphetic from *defenden*[62]	2

[52] The *OED* notes that sense 1, 'state of wandering', is only in conscious imitation of the Latin word (and only by the sixteenth century), while other senses are based on French. Nevertheless, the *MED* gives the Latin accusative *error-em* as additional etymology.
[53] The ME word is attested from 1340.
[54] The ME word is attested from 1250.
[55] AL *extenta*, mentioned in the *OED* entry, is not listed as a noun in the *DMLBS*, but such forms derived from the past participle are included under the entry *extendere*, with no indication of a vernacular source. The ME noun is attested before 1350 only in the *Story of England* and *HS*, then before 1400 only in a text surviving in a later manuscript.
[56] The *MED* gives Latin *heres* as additional etymology. The ME noun is attested from 1300, and in thirteenth-century texts surviving in later manuscripts.
[57] **Falsen** is attested from 1200.
[58] The ME forms point to an OF dominant influence, though the Latin word is similar enough that it probably played some part. The ME is attested from 1250, and for 1300–1350 in a text surviving in a later manuscript.
[59] The ME word is attested from 1200, but before 1250 only in texts surviving in later manuscripts.
[60] **Fe** (n 2) is attested from 1300.
[61] There is a ML *feria* 'holiday, market'; the vowel seems to be clearly different from the ME forms that instead correspond consistently to the OF. Influence of the Latin form may well have been limited. It is attested in ME from 1250, but only in a text surviving in a later manuscript.
[62] **Fenden** is attested from 1300.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**Etymological note**	**x**
ferme	n 2	ferme	farm n 2	OF ferme cf. L firma	1
fermen	v 3	ferme	ferm	OF fermer, L firmare[63]	1
fers	adj	feres	fierce adj	OF fers cf. L ferus[64]	1
feste	n	feste	feast n	OF feste, L festum	10
fever	n	feuer	fever n 1	OE fefer, OF fievre, both from L febris	3
figure	n	fygure	figure n	OF figure, L figura[65]	1
fin	n 2	fyn	fine n 1	OF fin cf. L finis[66]	1
fin	adj	fyne	fine adj	OF fin cf. L finus	3
flaume	n	flamme	flame n	AN flaume, L flamma[67]	2
flaumen	v	flammyng	flame v	AN flaumer, L flammare	1
florishen	v	florshede	flourish v	OF floriss- from florir cf. L florescere[68]	2
florishing	ger	florysyngge	flourishing	from *florishen*[69]	1
flour	n 1	floure	flower n	OF flour[70]	6
flour	n 2	floure	flour n	ME from *flour* n 1	5
flum	n	flume	flume n	OF flum, cf. L flumen[71]	1
forme	n	forme	form n	OF forme, L forma	5
formen	v	formed	form v 1	OF fo(u)rmer, L formare	2
fornicacioun	n	fornycacyon	fornication n 1	OF fornicacion, L[72]	2

[63] The ME form is attested in the *Story of England* and from 1350.
[64] **Fers** is attested from 1300, and as a byname from 1240. Cf. **fer** (adj 2), from OF only, which is attested from 1300.
[65] The ME form is attested in the periods 1200–1250 and, in a text surviving in a later manuscript, 1250–1300.
[66] In *HS* it is glossed *ende*. The first attestation is in a text dated to 1250–1300 surviving in a later manuscript. The attestations for the adjective are the same.
[67] The other form in *HS* has the AF spelling <-*au*->. Such spellings suggest a major French influence on the word, but this may be due to the scribe's familiarity with French spelling conventions more than etymology. The *MED* shows many entries of the Latin type, also among the earlier attestations.
[68] The ME form is attested from 1300.
[69] The ME form is attested from 1350.
[70] The influence of the Latin stem *flor*- (of *flos*) cannot be excluded, given several early spellings *flor* in ME. These could also reflect the AF spelling *flor*, though. Both ME nouns are attested from 1200 (though for (n 2) only in manuscripts surviving after 1300).
[71] **Flum** is attested from 1200 in ME.
[72] The ME form is attested from 1300.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**Etymological note**	**x**
Frankish	n	frankys	French adj etc. cf. Frankish	OE frencics, francan and L francus + OF franc	1
fresh	adj	fresshe	fresh adj etc. A	OF fresche (fem. of fres), OE fersc	2
Frisoun	n	Frysoun	Frison n 1	OF frison, L frison-[73]	6
Genesis	n	genesys	Genesis	L, OE, OF Genesis	1
glose	n	glose	gloze n	OF glose, ML glosa	1
glosen	v	glose	gloze v 1	OF gloser (ML glossare)	1
glosinge	ger	glosyng	glozing n	from *glosen* v	1
hardili	adv	hardyly	hardily	from *hardi* adj cf. hardli from OE heardlice[74]	1
hardinesse	n	hardynesse	hardiness, hardness	from *hardi* and OE heardnes[75]	0
heremite	n	ermyte	hermit	OF (h)ermite, ML her(e)mita	38
heresie	n	erysye	heresy	OF (h)eresie[76]	2
hermitage	n	ermytage	hermitage	OF ermitage[77]	3
hurten	v	hurt	hurt v	OF hurter	1
ire	n	yre	ire n	OF ire and L ira	22
Latin	adj	latyn	latin adj etc. A	OF latin, L latinus	1
Latin	n	latyne	latin adj etc. B	OF latin, L latinus	1
maister	n	mayster	master n 1	OF maistre, OE mægester[78]	19
maistren	v	maystred	master v	from *maister* cf. OF maistrier	1
mantel	n	mantel	mantle n	OF mantel cf. OE mentel[79]	2

[73] The ME form is attested from 1350.
[74] Gburek briefly discusses their relation, and points out that only one instance of **hardili** is found in *HS*, although Furnivall introduces another from a variant form in MS B, which writes *hardyly* in most cases.
[75] MS H has *hardnesse*, while MS B reads *hardynesse*, which Furnivall follows. Sullens also chooses *hardynesse*, with no variants listed in the textual notes. As Gburek notes, spellings and meanings of these two words cannot be separated with certainty. They will have converged for speakers of ME, too, so that the distinction becomes artificial. That also means, however, that French influence cannot be isolated.
[76] The ME form is attested in the *Ancrene Wisse* and from 1300.
[77] Neither *OED* nor *MED* suggests a Latin origin for the ME word, despite the existence of identical ML forms. For **heremite**, by contrast, the Latin word is considered the dominant influence at least in the *MED*. **Heremite** is attested various times in the period 1200–1250 (only in bynames for 1250–1300); *hermitage* has attestations from 1300, with placenames from 1280.
[78] The *OED3* concludes this word is primarily from Latin.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**Etymological note**	**x**
matrimoine	n	matrymony	matrimony	OF matremoine, L matrimonium	4
messe	n 1	messe	mass n 1	OE messe, mæsse, OF messe	67
minor	adj	menor	minor adj	OF menour, L minor	1
note	n 3	note	note n 2	OF note (L nota)	2
Oble	n	vble	obley	OF (o)ublee, oblie[80]	9
organe	n	organes	organ n 1	OF organe, L organum cf. OE organa (pl -e)	1
patriarke	n	patryark	patriarch n	OF patriarche, L patriarcha	4
prime	n	pryme	prime n 1	OE prim cf. OF prime, L prima (hora)	2
priour	n	pryour	prior n	OF priour, OE/L prior	2
prophete	n	prophete	prophet n	OF prophète, L propheta	20
pure	adj	powre	pure adj etc. A	OF pur(e), L purus[81]	1
purgatorie	n	purgatorye	purgatory	ML purgatorium, AN purgatorie	9
queste	n	quest	quest n 1	OF/AN queste, L quaesta, questa	3
riche	adj	ryche	rich adj etc.	OE rice, OF riche	74
sacren	v	sacreþ	sacre v	OF sacrer, L sacrare	2
sacrilege	n	sacrylage	sacrilege n 1	OF sacrilege, L sacrilegium[82]	25
safrounen	adj	saffrund	saffroned	OF safraner v, safran n; cf. L saffranare[83]	1

[79] The *OED3* concludes the primary source is Latin.

[80] Some ME forms were clearly influenced by Latin *obleta*, *obletum*; the forms in *HS* are clearly different and show a dominant French influence. The ME word is attested from 1200, but for the period 1250–1300 only in texts surviving in later manuscripts.

[81] Gburek points out that there is confusion between this form and **povre** in several manuscripts.

[82] **Sacrilege** is attested in ME from 1300.

[83] Originally Arabic, this word entered ML as well as OF, in similar forms, so that determining which influenced the ME more is difficult. Some of the ME verb forms with spelling <*safran-*> could be derived from Latin. The adjectivally used past participle is attested before the verb in English. In *HS* it is a direct translation of the source ('les gympeus safroneȝ'). Attestations for the noun are earlier, from 1200 continuously; the verb is only attested from 1350. The noun may also be from Latin; the *MED* suggests 'AL saffranum, saffronum'. The *AND* only records the adjective, not the verb.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**Etymological note**	**x**
Sarasine	n 1	sarysyne	saracen	OF saracin, -zin, cf. OE sar(a)cene	7
sauter	n	sautere	psalter	AN sauter[84]	6
savacioun	n	saluacyun	salvation	AN salvacioun, L salvatio[85]	7
scarlet	n	skarlet	scarlet n etc. A	aphetic from OF escarlate[86]	1
scrite	n	skryt	scrite	aphetic from OF escrit[87]	3
second	num	secunde	second adj etc.	OF second, L secundus[88]	4
secutour	n	secutour	secutor, sectour	aphetic from *executour*	2
seinte	adj	seynt	saint adj etc. A	OF saint cf. *cor-seint*	141
seinte	n	seyntes	saint adj etc. B	from *seinte*[89]	1
sengle	adj	sengle	single a	OF sengle, L singulus, AL sengulus[90]	5
sepulcre	n	spulcre	sepulchre n	OF sepulcre, L sepulcrum[91]	1
sermoun	n	sermoun	sermon n	AN sermun, L sermonis[92]	2

[84] In this spelling the form is closer to the AF form than the OE forms, like **salter**, but the two forms are close enough that Latin influence cannot be excluded. The *OED3* entry concludes this too. It is attested from 1200 continuously in many sources.

[85] Both the loss of the <-*l*-> spelling in many ME forms and the ending in <-*un*> suggest a dominant French influence rather than a Latin one, but there are enough forms of a potentially more Latinate type that Latin influence cannot be excluded. The ME word is attested from 1200.

[86] We cannot exclude the influence of ML *scarletum* and other forms. The ME word is attested from 1250, and as a byname from 1185 onwards.

[87] This aphetic form is attested from 1300, while the full form is only attested in ME after 1413. For both forms Latin *scriptum* probably played a role, also given the great currency of the term. The majority of ME spellings without <-*p*-> may point to a dominant French influence, but a form with <*p*> is found as early as 1350, with only three attestations of an earlier date. The forms in *HS* are not just due to scribal influence, as in some cases at least *scrite* is in a rhyming position. The *AND* entry contains spellings with <-*k*-> and aphetic forms, but not the exact form *skrit*.

[88] The ME word is attested from 1300.

[89] There was an OE word *sanct* and Latin *sanctus*; the ME forms suggest a dominant French influence, but the common nature of the word would have meant that the word was already familiar. The adjective is attested from 1150, but only as byname and in a text surviving in a later manuscript for 1250–1300; the noun is attested from 1200.

[90] The ME form is attested from 1300.

[91] The ME form is attested from 1200, with for the period 1250–1300 only an attestation in a text surviving in a later manuscript.

[92] This is another case of a word where the spelling used in ME suggests a dominant French or Latin influence, with <*ou*> pointing to French and <*o*> to Latin. Mannyng appears to use mainly <*ou*>, or at least the relevant scribes. The *MED* attestations favour the French model, but a potential Latinate form is

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**Etymological note**	**x**
servage	n	seruage	servage	OF servage, ML servagium[93]	7
serven	v 1	serue	serve v 1, serving-man	OF servir, AF serveier, L servire[94]	42
servise	n	seruyse	service n 1	LOE serfise from OF servise[95]	37
sexteine	n	skesteyn	sexton	AN segerstaine[96]	3
signe	n	sygne	sign n	OF signe, L signum, OE seign[97]	6
signifien	v	sygnyfye	signify	OF signifier[98]	1
simonie	n	symonye	simony	OF simonie, L simonia[99]	5
socour	n	socour	succour n	AN socours[100]	7
solas	n	solace	solace n 1	OF solas, L solacium[101]	6
solempnie	adv	solempny	solemny B	OF solempne adj[102]	1
solempnite	n	solemnyte	solemnity	OF solempneté cp L sollemnitas[103]	1

found as early as 1340, so that Latin influence cannot be excluded. The ME form is attested continuously from 1200.

[93] The ME word is attested from 1300, with one earlier attestation in a text surviving only in later manuscripts. The AF form is included in the *AND*, with this spelling.

[94] The verb is attested from 1175. The *OED* includes a separate entry **serving-man** in which *HS* is the first attestation, only followed in 1538. The *MED* does not have a separate entry for the compound.

[95] See comment in Appendix 2.

[96] This is the main etymon given by the *OED*; the *MED* however gives only AL *sextanus* as reduced form of the classical Latin word. The ME word is attested from 1300. As a byname it attested from 1203 (*OED*).

[97] The ME word is attested from 1200, but for the period 1250–1300 only in a text dated to that period surviving in a later manuscript. The *OED* has a separate entry for the OE form, **senye**, with a note that this coalesced in early ME with an aphetic form of **ensign** 'military standard'. All ME attestations of **ensign** itself are much later. The senses of **senye** are included in the main *MED* entry **signe** (sense 5). The earliest quotation in this sense is from the Otho *Brut*, with a note that Calligula has *burne*.

[98] The *OED* concludes it is partly a borrowing from Latin *significare*. **Signifien** is attested from 1250. **Signen** (v 1) is attested c. 1200 and 1250; it is also derived from OE and Latin verbs. **Signifiaunce** is also first attested 1275 (in *Kentish Sermons*), but remains rare until the late fourteenth century. The other related words are attested much later.

[99] The ME form is attested in the *Ancrene Wisse* and from 1300.

[100] The *MED* has separate entries for **socour** (from AF variants of OF *secor*) and **socours** (from OF *secors*, cf. ML *succursus*). The first is attested from 1300 (and in a text dated to 1250–1300), the latter is attested continuously from 1200. The *OED* includes both forms in one entry and notes that the final *-s* was interpreted as a plural marker, leading to the form **socour**. ML **succursus** (thus in the *DMLBS*) was formed on the classical verb. It cannot be ruled out on formal grounds that this form had some role in the formation of the ME noun. The verb is attested from 1275.

[101] The ME form is attested from 1300 and the AF form is listed in the *AND* with this spelling. The verb is first attested in a text dated to 1280 surviving in a later manuscript.

[102] This form is not found in ME again until after 1450. For the ME adjective, **solempne**, the *MED* also points to the role of Latin *sollem*(*p*)*nis*. This adverb, it suggests next, is built on the ME adjective. The *OED* also includes the Latin adjective as partial direct source. The adjective is only attested well into the fifteenth century, but another form of the adverb, **solempneli**, is attested from 1325.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**Etymological note**	**x**
somme	n 2	summe	sum n 1	OF summe, L summa[104]	1
somnen	v	somoune	summon v cf. somne v 1, 2	OF somun-, sumun- from somondre[105]	2
sorcerie	n	sorsorye	sorcery	OF sorcerie, L sorceria[106]	3
soun	n	sown	sound n 3	OF soun, OE son, L sonus[107]	1
sover	adv	soure	sover adj etc. B cf. sure a etc.	OF soure, variant of s(e)ure[108]	4
space	n	space	space n 1	OF (e)space, ML spacium[109]	15
speciale	adj	specyal	special A	OF (e)special, L specialis[110]	3
speciale	adv	specyale	special C	from *speciale*[111]	1
specialli	adv	specyaly	specially	from *speciale*, L specialiter	24
spense	n 1	spensys	spense	aphetic from OF espense, L expensa, ML spensa[112]	1
spensere	n	spensere	spencer n 1	aphetic from AN espenser cf. OF despencier[113]	3

[103] The ME word is attested from 1300, but only in certain phrases: '**with (gret) ~**, ceremoniously, with pomp; ?also, joyfully; **with lite ~**, with little ceremony, unceremoniously'. Less restricted uses, suggesting greater integration, are found only from 1350. The adjective is attested from 1340.
[104] The single use of this word in *HS* is in the phrase 'by summe certeyn' meaning 'in an exact amount', for which it is the only attestation quoted in the *MED*. The *AND* does not record a similar AF phrase.
[105] Gburek draws attention to the confusion which arose in ME between some forms of this verb and **samnen** 'gather', of OE origin.
[106] In the *MED* this word is attested from 1350, with only a use in *KA* for the period 1300–1350. The *OED* also gives a quotation from *Cursor Mundi* that has the word coupled with *wiche-craft*.
[107] The ME word is attested from 1200, with only an attestation in a text surviving in a later manuscript for the period 1250–1300.
[108] All attestations here are doubtful, Gburek argues. The adjective is not attested for another 100 and the adverb not for another 250 years while rhyme and context all allow an original word like *sore* or *sour*, both of OE origin. Gburek suggests that the author and copying scribe had different words in mind, with only the latter thinking of *soure* from OF. The *MED* entry for **sovere** has a question mark and only gives one quotation, for 1500.
[109] The ME word is attested from 1300.
[110] The ME word is attested in *Ancrene Wisse* and from 1300. **Especial** is attested from 1390 (Chaucer).
[111] The ME word is attested in *Ancrene Wisse* and after 1400. Some cases may belong instead to **specialli**, which is attested from 1300.
[112] The word has the sense 'expense' in *HS*. It is attested from 1200, with only an attestation in a text surviving in a later manuscript for the period 1250–1300.
[113] This form is attested from 1350 and in a text dated to 1300–1350, as well as in a byname of 1251. The full form **dispensour** is only attested from 1400 in its general sense, though from 1166 in British sources

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**Etymological note**	**x**
spice	n 1	spyce	spice n, spece	aphetic from OF espice, espece, from L species[114]	20
spicerie	n	spycerye	spicery	aphetic from OF espicerie, ML speceria[115]	1
spirit	n	spyryt	spirit n	AN (e)spirit, L spiritus	6
spiritual	adj	spiritual	spiritual	L spiritualis, OF spirituel[116]	2
stable	adj	stable	stable adj	OF (e)stable, L stabilis	5
stable	adv	stable	–	from *stable* adj	1
stablen	v 1	stable	stable v 1	OF (e)stablir, L stabilire	4
stabli	adv	stabely	stably adv	from *stable* adj[117]	1
stalle	n	stale	stale n 4	aphetic form AN estal (from gmc stallo-)[118]	1
stat	n	state	state n	OF estat, L status cf. *astate*	15
storie	n 1	story	story n 1	OF estorie, L storia[119]	4
stranglen	v	strangle	strangle v	OF estrangler, L strangulare[120]	3
studie	n	stody	study n	aphetic from OF estudie, or L	3

as a byname. Under **spense** (n 1 and 2, 'funds' and 'pantry'), from which the *MED* notes **spensere** might in part derive, the etymology includes Latin *expensa*, ML *spensa*. The *OED* entry for **spence** (n 1) mentions the equivalent ML form, including an aphetic *spensa* to the OF, but does not suggest it as direct influence. Nevertheless it is very possible that the ME noun was a native formation on **spense**, at least next to the influence of AF *espenser*. That would mean influence of Latin *(ex)spensa* cannot be excluded. The *DMLBS* also records a form *spensator*.

[114] It can be deduced that Mannyng's form was always in <*e*>, while the copyist of H used <*y*> whenever possible (Gburek). The ME word is attested from 1200, with only an attestation in a text surviving in a later manuscript for the period 1250–1300.

[115] The ME word is attested from 1300.

[116] The manuscript readings are of abbreviated forms, which Furnivall resolved inconsistently (Gburek); the vowel intended is irretrievable (and may have seemed an irrelevant detail to the scribes).

[117] This adverb attested from 1300 and the adjective from 1250, with one attestation in a text dated to 1150, and the adverb **stable** is attested from 1300. The verb is attested from 1300, with one attestation in a text dated to 1280.

[118] The *OED* suggests that, while some semantic influence may have taken place from **stale** (n 1), this noun entered English via the French. The *MED,* however, has a single entry for the reflexes of OE *steal*, OF *estal* and ML *stallum*. The senses probably from French (corresponding to the *OED* entry **stale** (n 1)) are attested from 1200 continuously.

[119] **Historie** is attested from 1393 (Gower). The *OED* etymology under **history** notes the OE borrowing of Latin historia in the form of *stær*.

[120] The first attestation is in a text dated to 1280 surviving in a later manuscript.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**Etymological note**	**x**
				studium	
studien	v	stody	study v	aphetic from OF estudier, or L studere, ML studiare[121]	2
studiinge	ger	stodyyng	studying	from *studien* v	1
subdeken	n	subdekene	subdeacon	OF soudiakene cf. OE subdiacon, L subdiaconus cf. dekene	2
subget	n	sogettys	subject n	OF soget, L subjectus[122]	1
sufferable	adj	suffrable	sufferable	OF suffrable[123]	1
sufferaunce	n	suffraunce	sufferance	OF suffrance	5
sufferen	v	suffre	suffer	OF suffrir	36
supposen	v	suppose	suppose v	OF supposer[124]	5
suspecioun	n	susspecyun	suspicion	AN suspecioun[125]	1
sustenaunce	n	sustynaunce	sustenance	AN sustenance, L sustinentia[126]	3
table	n	table	table n	OF table, L tabula, OE tabule	1

[121] After an attestation of c1150 (?1125), the ME word is not attested again until 1300. The noun is attested from 1300. One sense in which it is used in *HS* ('room for studying') is not attested elsewhere until 1395. The gerund is also attested 1150 (?1125), in the same text, then again from 1350.
[122] The ME word is attested from 1300, with all related forms later. The ME spelling favours French influence, but the *OED3* entry concludes it is of mixed French and Latin origin.
[123] There was a ML form *sufferabilis*, which the *MED* gives only as AL. The *OED* implies that forms lacking the <*e*> are closer to French, with the modern spelling due to later remodelling after Latin. However, some early attestations do have the <*e*>. The adjective is attested once in 1348. The sense in which Mannyng uses it, to describe a personal quality rather than the quality of an event, is only attested in 1392 except in *HS* and the *Story of England*. Mannyng's use seems to be somewhat advanced then. The verb is more clearly also dependent on Latin *sufferre*; it is attested from 1200 continuously and frequently, providing ample suggestion that the adjective would not have appeared entirely unfamiliar in *HS*. The earliest attested noun form is **sufferaunce**, partly from Latin *sufferentia*, which is attested from 1300. An alternative adjective form, **sufferaunt**, is attested from 1300. The other forms are only attested later.
[124] The *OED* discusses at length the origins of the related verb **pose** (v 1), developed from post-classical Latin *pausare*. The Latin verb is attested in the *DMLBS* but is semantically rather different from the OF and ME verbs. In the fifteenth century, *pausare* was the probable source of ME **pause** (v). Latin *supponere* may have played some role in the formation of the ME verb **supposen**, given the similar senses and the many forms in *suppos-* of the Latin verb. In MS Dulwich XXIV, line 2791, *suppose* is replaced by *hopyn*. The *MED* also states a variant *leeueþ*. The sense 'to hope' for **supposen** is given in the *MED* as sense 2e, while some other senses could also be used to express this. All related forms are attested much later. **Supposen** is attested from 1300, but before 1350 only in a text surviving in a later manuscript. **Proposen** is attested from 1340; **prepose** and the more clearly Latinate **suppone** are later.
[125] The form is closest to the AF, but Latin *suspectio* and *suspicio* may have played a role. The ME word is attested from 1300.
[126] The ME form is attested from 1200.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**Etymological note**	**x**
tabour	n	thabour	tabor n 1	OF tab(o)ur, ML[127]	2
taske	n	taske	task n	ONF tasque[128]	1
tempest	n	tempest	tempest n	OF tempeste, L tempestas[129]	9
temple	n	temple	temple n 1	OE temp(e)l, OF temple	7
temptacioun	n	temptacyun	temptation	OF temptaciun, L[130]	23
tempten	v	tempte	tempt v	OF tempter, L temptare[131]	20
temptinge	ger	temptyng	tempting	from *tempten*[132]	21
tenden	v 1	tende	tend v 1	aphetic from OF attendre, entendre[133]	1
tenement	n	tenement	tenement	OF tenement, ML	1
tente	n 2	tent	tent n 2	aphetic from *attente*, *entente*[134]	5
timpan	n	tympan	tympan	OF tympan, L tympanum	1
title	n	tytyl	title n	OF title, L titulus[135]	2
tombe	n	toumbe	tomb n	OF tumbe cf. L tumba[136]	5
torment	n	turment	torment n	OF turment, L	3

[127] The ME form is attested from 1300, and as byname from 1168. The *OED* does not mention a Latin form.
[128] Gburek points to B. Thuresson, *Middle English Occupational Terms*, Lund Studies in English 19 (Lund: Gleerup, 1950), p. 41. The ME form is attested as a byname from 1200 (in a compound with a native element: *tascheman*) and, in a later manuscript, in a text dated to 1300–1350.
[129] The ME form is attested from 1250, but already in bynames from 1168. The *OED* does not suggest that the Latin word played a noticeable role in the formation of the ME word, but in terms of form it is possible.
[130] The ME form is attested from 1200.
[131] This form is attested from 1200, but for 1300–50 only in texts dated to that time surviving in later manuscripts. The forms in <*mpt*> are the learned OF forms, remodelled on Latin, besides *tenten*, *tentacion*.
[132] This form is attested from 1350.
[133] The *MED* gives **tenden** from ME **attenden**, **entenden**, both of which are given a Latin as well as an OF origin. The *OED* only gives the Latin as source for the OF forms, not ascribing direct influence to it. **Entenden** is attested from 1300 too, and **attenden** is attested in a text dated to that period. The sense used by Mannyng, (3a) 'minister, wait upon, care for' is only attested from the later fourteenth century.
[134] For **attente** the *MED* gives only OF as etymon, but for **entente** also Latin *intentus*. The *OED* only gives the Latin as source for the OF forms. **Tente** is first attested in a text dated to 1300–1350, but **entente** is found from 1200 and **attente** from 1250.
[135] Interestingly this form is only attested in a text dated to 1300–1350 surviving in a later manuscript, though there is also a gloss from 1200–1250 (which is very suspect as evidence for English usage). The *OED* states that the Latin word led to OE *titul* and later byforms with <*u*>, suggesting that the ME forms are mainly from OF.
[136] This form is attested from 1300, with a byname found in 1284. The verb is attested in the Caligula *Brut*, then in Mannyng's *Story of England*. Cf. **tumben** (v) 'fall', of OE and OF origin.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**Etymological note**	**x**
tormenten	v	turment	torment v	OF turmenter[137]	2
tour	n 1	toure	tower n 1	LOE tur from OF tour	1
trailen	v 1	trayleþ	trail v 1	ONF trailler and OE træglian[138]	2
tremblen	v	tremle	tremble v	OF tremler cf. L tremulare[139]	1
tremblinge	ger	trenlyng	trembling	from *tremblen*	1
trotevale	n	troteuale	trotevale	unknown	4
turnen	v	turne	turn v	OE turnian, OF tourner	39
turninge	ger	turnyng	turning	OE turning and form *turnen*	2
usen	v	vse	use v	OF user, L usare[140]	14
usurere	n	vsurere	usurer	AN usurer[141]	5
usurie	n	vsery	usury	AN *usurie, ML usuria	1
vanishen	v	vanysshed	vanish v	aphetic from OF evaniss- (evanir)[142]	1
vanite	n	vanyte	vanity	OF vanité cp L vanitas[143]	6
vassalage	n	vasshelage	vassalage	OF vasselage[144]	1
venial	adj	venyal	venial adj 1	OF venial, L venialis[145]	1
verse	n	verse	verse n	OE fers, OF vers	2
vestement	n	vestement	vestment n 1,	OF vestement, L	3

[137] This form is attested from 1300, as is the noun.
[138] The development of the word and the relation to the OE form are unclear (Gburek).
[139] The ME form is first attested in a text dated to 1250. The gerund is attested from 1350. The 'early forms' *tremel, tremle* may have been influenced by the Latin verb (*OED*).
[140] The *OED3* entry also concludes the verb is of mixed origins, including Latin.
[141] The influence of ML *usurarius* is evident in later forms (*OED* **usurary**), though the existence of the term is likely to have reinforced the influence of the OF term. For the verb the *MED* also indicates a Latin origin; it is attested from 1300.
[142] The *MED* prompts a comparison to Latin *vanescere*. It does not list any *HS* quotations. The *OED* etymology for **evanish** tells the OF was based on a popular form **exvanire* rather than classsical *exvanescere*, which makes a Latin source for the ME word less likely. Some spellings in the *MED* (*vanescen*) suggest this but they are rare and later. For **evanishen**, there is only one fourteenth-century use, which has the French stem vowel, while all other uses are fifteenth-century and more Latinate.
In *HS* too the spellings would clearly derive from OF. The form is attested from 1300, but only in texts surviving only in later manuscripts. In all, the formal difference between the OF and Latin models is very slight, so that it is doubtful whether Latin influence can be excluded.
[143] Most ME forms suggest a main OF influence; in *HS* there is at least one form *vanites*. The term's position in religious discourse may however mean the Latin word played a larger role. The ME form is attested between 1200–1250 and from 1300.
[144] There was a ML *vassalagium*. The entry in the *DMLBS* does not suggest it may be based on a vernacular form and shows uses in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The ME form is attested from 1300.
[145] This form is attested from 1300.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**Etymological note**	**x**
			vestiment	vestimentum[146]	
vile	adj	vyle	vile adj etc. A	OF vil, cf. L vilis[147]	13
vile	adj /adv	vyle	vile adj etc. B	from *vile* adj	1
vileli	adv	vyly	vilely	from *vile* adj	2
vine	n 1	vynys	vine n	OF vine[148]	5
virgine	n	vyrgyne	virgin n etc.	OF virgine[149]	9
virginite	n	virginite	virginity	OF virginité[150]	1
visitacioun	n	vysytacyun	visitation	AN visitacioun, L visitatio(n-)[151]	1
visiten	v	vysyte	visit v	OF visiter, L visitare	1
vocat	n	voket	vocate n	aphetic from OF avocat[152]	1
vouen	v 2	vowe	vow v 1	OF vouer[153]	4
wanlase	n	wanlace	wanlace	AN wanelace[154]	2
were	n 5	were	were n 3	unknown; perhaps form of *werre* n[155]	6
wile	n 1	wylys	wile n	AN *wile from OF guile[156]	1

[146] The *OED* has separate entries for the form from OF *vestement* and the form that can be either from OF *vestiment* or Latin *vestimentum*. The *MED* combines them in a single entry. The ME form is attested between 1200–1250 and from 1300.
[147] This ME form is attested first in a text dated to 1250–1300. The adverb is attested from 1300.
[148] The etymon of the OF word, Latin *vinea*, could have played a role in forming the ME word, but neither *MED* nor *OED* suggests this. Nevertheless, the forms cannot be distinguished clearly enough to exclude the possibility.
[149] The Latin accusative was around as well and cannot be excluded as influence on formal grouns. The ME word is attested from 1200, including a use in *LB*.
[150] The form *virginite* is most obviously from OF; the word's use and familiarity would have been reinforced by the Latin. The French-derived suffix was used on loans from Latin, too, so that this offers insufficient reason to exclude a Latin source. The ME noun is attested from 1300.
[151] The suffix is insufficient reason to conclude the ME word derives from the French word only, as this may have been modelled on other nouns using the French suffix. The noun is attested from 1350, and the verb from 1250.
[152] There was also a ML *vocatus*. For **advocate**, the *OED3* entry concludes it is of mixed Latin and French origin. The ME form is attested from 1350.
[153] Both this *MED* entry and the one for **avouen** (v 2) also point to Latin *vovere*, which the *OED* does not mention, instead deriving the verb from the noun. While Latin influence on the ME forms was probably less pronounced than OF, it cannot be exluded. The verb is attested from 1300. Gburek mentions that MS Dulwich XXIV seems to confuse it with aphetic forms of **avouen**, which he suggests shows the late date of the manuscript, as such conflation is not evidenced earlier.
[154] The etymology is really unknown: there is no related continental word and the *OED* suggests it is quite possibly a mispronunciation of an English word (that in turn led to a spurious back-formation **windlass** n2). The term is very early in Mannyng's writing, with other attestations only dating to 1400 and later. See also Gburek's note.
[155] It is glossed *disese*.

[156] The *OED* is sceptical of this etymology and notes it may also represent a Scandinavian form. See also Gburek's note. It is attested in 1131, then from 1200.

Appendix 9: Unused Data from Gburek

This appendix lists the basic information on the vocabulary of French origin in *Handlyng Synne* that is not part of my study (letters G to R, with occasional items included in my analysis and not listed here). The entries in the *MED*, Gburek's concordance and *OED* are given, followed by the French etymon and the number of times the word is found in *HS*. These last two points are based on the information in Gburek's concordance. The etymological note has occasionally been modified and additional information relevant to the etymology may be found in footnotes. However, in contrast to the words listed in Appendix 6 or 7, the etymology of the words in this appendix has not been checked for Latin influence, and some words in here may according to my criteria be of mixed origins. Their inclusion here does not imply my classification of them as of definite or exclusively French origin. A number following the part of speech indicates the relevant entry in the *MED* or *OED*.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**OF form**	**x**
gai	adj	gay	gay adj etc. A	OF gai	4
gentil	adj	gentyl	gentle adj etc. A	OF gentil cf. *gentleman*, *gentlewoman*[1]	9
gentrie	n	gentry	gentry	OF genterie	1
gerlond	n	gerland	garland n	OF guerlande	1
geste	n 1	geste	gest n 1, jest n	OF geste	7
geste	n 2	geste	gest n 2	OF geste 'family'[2]	2
gettour	n pl	gettours	jetter n 1	AN *gettour from OF getëor	1
gibelet	n	gyblot	giblet	OF gibelet	1
gilerie	n	gylerye	guilery	OF guilerie	3
gilour	n	gylour	guiler	OF guilëor	1
gising	ger	gysyng	–	? from *gise* v cf. *gise* n[3]	1
glotonie	n	glotonye	gluttony	OF glotonie	30
glotoun	n	glotoun	glutton n etc.	OF gloton	5

[1] Only three of these are used as simplex, the others as compound with **man** or **womman**.
[2] Gburek remarks that it is not always possible to divide uses of this noun and of **gest** (n) 'guest', of OE origin (e.g. 9365–66).
[3] The manuscript reading is unclear. A form *gyfyng* of **yeven** (v) 'to give' would be a logical rendering of *duner* in the *Manuel*, but all forms of **yeven** in *HS* are otherwise with <*ȝ*>. Thus a form with long <*s*>, *gysyng*, cannot be rejected, and would probably derive from *gise* (Gburek).

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**OF form**	**x**
goliardeis	n	gulardous	goliardous	AN goulardous from OF goliardois, adj and n (note refers to *AFW*)[4]	1
gourde	n pl	gourdys	gourd n 1	AN gourde	1
governaunce	n	gouernaunce	governance	OF governance	1
governen	v	gouerne	govern v	OF governer	3
gracious	adj	gracyous	gracious	OF gracious	2
graciousli	adv	gracyously	graciously	ME from *gracious*	1
gramerci, graunt	adj	graunte	gramercy, grand	OF grant (merci)[5]	2
gre	n 1	gre, grece	gree n 1	OF gré 'step', pl. grez	10
gref	n	grefe	grief n	AN gref	2
grevaunce	n	greuaunce	grievance	OF grevance[6]	2
greven	v	greue	grieve v	OF grever	13
grevous	adj	greuus	grievous	AN grevous	2
grevousli	adv	greuusly	grievously	from *grevous*	7
grevousnesse	n	greuesnesse	grievousness	from *grevous*	1
grucchen	v	gruccheþ	grutch v	OF gr(o)uchier	3
grucchinge	ger	grucchyng	grutching	from *grucchen*	1
harneis	n	harneys	harness n	OF harneis	3
hasardour	n	hasadoure	hazarder	AN hasardour, OF hasardëor[7]	1
haste	n	haste	haste n	OF haste, from Germ.	7
hastelie	adv	hastly	hastely, hastly	from *haste* n	4
hasten	v	haste	haste v	OF haster	2
hastilie	adv	hastyly	hastily	from *hasti* adj from *haste* n	6
hauncen	v	haunces	hance v	ME aphetic from AN enhauncer cf. OF enhancer	1
haunche	n	haunche	haunch n 1	OF hanche from Germ.	1
haunten	v 1	haunte	haunt v	OF hanter	39
heir	n	eyre	heir n	OF (h)eir	18

[4] Only attested in Chaucer and Langland.
[5] Both uses in *HS* are *graunte mercy*, a phrase that occurs much earlier than the usual adoption of the adjective (Gburek).
[6] Gburek suggests a more specific meaning than *MED* gloss of 'feeling of unhappiness, sorrow' with 'misery' or even 'punishment' as that which awaits those who sin.
[7] Gburek mentions that spellings like that in *HS* occur more often in ME, including in Chaucer's works, and should not be considered errors.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**OF form**	**x**
herbergerie	n	herbergerye	harbergery	OF herbergerie	1
hidous	adj	hydus	hideous	OF hidous	4
homage	n	omage	homage n	OF homage, ommage	1
honour	n	onour	honour n	AN (h)onour	13
honourabli	adv	onourablye	honourably	ME from OF honurable	1
honouren	v	honoure	honour v	OF honourer	1
horrible	adj	orryble	horrible	OF (h)orrible	1
hoste	n 2	hoste	host n 2	OF host	1
hoste	n 1	oste	host n 1	OF (h)ost	1
hostel	n	osteyl	hostel n 1	OF (h)ostel	2
houre	n	oure	hour	OF (h)oure	13
huch	n	hucche	hutch n	OF huche[8]	1
ile	n 1	yle	isle n	OF i(s)le, ille	3
image	n	ymage	image n	OF image	3
inceste	n	yncest	incest	OF inceste	1
inspiracioun	n	ynspyracyun	inspiration	OF inspiracion	2
ipocrisie	n	ypocrysye	hipocrisy	OF ipocrisie	2
ipocrite	n	ypocryte	hypocrite	OF ipocrite	7
irous	adj	irus	irous	OF irus (gloss: wraþful)	2
janglen	v	iangle	jangle v	OF jangler	9
janglere	n	iangler	jangler	OF langlëor	2
janglinge	ger	ianglyng	jangling n	from *iangle*	2
jaunis	n	Iawnes	jaundice n	OF jaunice	2
jelous	adj	gelous	jelous	OF gelos	2
jelousiee	n	gelusye	jelousy	OF gelosie	2
Jeu	n	Iew	Jew n	OF gi(e)u	22
jeuel	n	iuweles	jewel n	OF jüel, jeuwiel	2
joen	v	ioyeþ	joy v	OF joïr	2
jogelour	n	iogeloure	juggler	AN jogelour	2
joie	n	ioye	joy n	OF joi	33
joinen	v 2	ioyne	join v 2	aphetic from enjoine, OF enjoindre	2
joint	n 1	ioynt	joint n	OF joint	1
joli	adj	iolyfe	jolly adj etc. A	OF joli(f)	2
jolite	n	iolyte	jollity	OF joli(f)té, joli(ve)té	1

[8] Gburek notes that 'Der Reim *hucche : mucche* erscheint unverdächtig, da hier zwei frz Wtr reimen. Mucche ist jedoch ausser in HS im Engl nicht belegt, das etymoogisch verwandte Vb und Ableitungen dazu nur in der Form mich-. Mi(c)che könnte auch für HS angesetzt werden, wenn gleichzeitig hucche durch das me. synonyme whicche (ae. hwicce) ersetzt wird.'

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**OF form**	**x**
journei	n	iurne	journey n	OF j(o)urnee	2
juge	n	iuge	judge	OF juge	1
jugement	n	iugement	judgement	OF jugement	13
jugen	v	iuged	judge v	AN juger	1
juginge	ger	iuggyng	judging	from *juge*	1
justen	v	iuste	just, joust v 1	OF j(o)uster	1
justice	n	iustyse	justice n	OF justice	8
justinge	ger	iustyng	justing, jousting	from *justen*	1
juwise	n	iuwys	juise	OF jüise	2
lai	n 2	lay	lay n 4 ‘song’	OF lai	2
lai	adj	lay	lay a etc	OF lai	1
langage	n	langage	language n	OF langage	1
langaged	adj	langaged	languaged	from *langage* n	1
large	adj	large	large adj etc. A	OF large	10
large	adv	large	large adj etc. B	OF large	2
largelie	adv	largely	largely	from *large* adj	5
largenesse	n	largenesse	largeness	from *large* adj (only in MS H, the others have *largesse*)	1
largesse	n	larges	largess	OF largesse	2
lecherie	n	lecherye	lechery	OF lecherie	49
lecherous	adj	lecherous	lecherous	from *lechour*, *lecherye*	1
lechour	n	lechour	lecher n	OF lechour (some cases pl given in *MED* as adj)	15
legistre	n	legystrys	legister n 1	OF legistre	1
lei	n 1	lay	lay n 3 ‘law’	OF lei	9
leiser	n	leysere	leisure	OF leisir	1
leprous	adj	leprous	leprous	OF lepros	1
lessoun	n	lessun	lesson n	OF leçun	2
lettre	n	lettyr	letter n 1	OF lettre cf. y-lettred	6
lettred	adj	ylettred	lettered	ME y + lettre + ed	1
linage	n	lynage	lineage	OF li(g)nage	3
losenger	n	losenioure	losenger	OF losengeour	2
losengerie	n	losengrye	losengery	OF losengerie	1
ma-dame	n	madame	madam n	OF ma dame	1
mageste	n	mageste	majesty	OF majesté	1
maintenen	v	manteyne	maintain v	OF maintenir	3

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**OF form**	**x**
maistrie	n	maystry	mastery	OF maistrie[9]	24
malice	n	malyce	malice n	OF malice	1
malisoun	n	malysun	malison n	OF maleison	5
manace	n	manas	menace n	OF manace	1
manacen	v	manasse	menace v	AN manasser, OF manecier	2
maner	n 1	manere	manor	AN maner	1
market	n 1	market	market n	LOE market, AN market	1
matere	n	matere	matter n 1	OF matere	1
matin	n	matyns	matin n	OF natines	8
maugre	n	maugre	maugre n A	OF maugré	2
maugre	prep	maugre	maugre n B	OF maugré	2
maumetrie	n	maumetrye	maumetry	from *maumet* + ry	7
medicine	n	medycyne	medicine n 1	OF medicine	2
meine	n	meyne	meinie	OF meyné	10
melancolien	n	melancoly	melancholy n	OF melancolie	1
melodie	n	melody	melody n	OF melodie	1
membre	n	menbre	member n	OF membre	2
memorie	n	memorye	memory	OF memorie	3
mencioun	n	mencyun	mention n	OF mencion	1
merchaundie	n	marchaundye	merchandy	OF marchandie	3
merchaundise	n	marchandyse	merchandise n	OF marchandise	1
merchaunt	n	marchaunde	merchant n	OF marchand, marchant	5
merci	n 1	mercy	mercy n	OF merci	84
merciable	adj	mercyable	merciable	OF merciable	3
mercien	v 2	mercs	mercy v	OF mercier	1
merciment	n	mercyment	mercement	from *merci* and aphetic from AN amerciment[10]	2
merveille	n	merueyle	marvel n	OF merveille	18
merveillen	v	merueyled	marvel v	OF merveillier	3
merveillous	adj	merueylus	marvellous A	OF merveillous	6
merveillousli	adv	merueylusly	marvellously	from *merveillous*	1
mesel	n	mesyl	mesel B	OF mesel	5
meselrie	n	meselrye	meselry	OF meselerie	1
messe	n 1	messe	mess n	OF mes	3
mestelion	n	mastlyoun	maslin n 2	OF mesteillon	1

[9] The *OED* etymological note suggests the noun was formed in French, even though both root and suffix ultimately derive from Latin.

[10] The *OED* notes only that this is a shortened form of **amerciment**. This is unlikely, Gburek argues, since **amerciment** is attested much later than the *HS* form. Word formation from *mercy* and *-ment* should be assumed. Cf. the meaning 'Strafe' for *mercy* in 5492.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**OF form**	**x**
mesurable	adj	mesurable	measurable	OF mesurable	2
mesure	n	mesure	measure n	OF mesure	19
mesureli	adv	mesurly	measurely adv	from *mesure* n[11]	1
metal	n	matalle	metal n	OF metal	2
meven	v	meuede	move v	OF moev- from inf moveir	1
michen	v	muccheþ	miche v	AN mucher[12]	1
mine	n 3	myne	mine n	OF mine	1
minour	n	mynour	miner n 1	OF minour	3
minstral	n	mynstral	minstrel	OF menestral	8
minstralsie	n	mynstralsy	minstrelsy	OF menestralsie	3
miracle	n	myracle	miracle n	OF miracle	15
mirour	n	merour	mirror n	OF mirour	1
misaventure	n	mysauenture	misadventure	OF mesaventure	6
mischanceful	adj	myschaunceful	mischanceful	from *mischaunce* + -ful	1
mischaunce	n	myschaunce	mischance n	OF mescha(u)nce	12
mischef	n	myschefe	mischief	OF meschef	1
mischefful	adj	myschefful	mischiefful	from *mischef* + -ful	1
miscomforten	v	myscumfort	miscomfort v	from OE mis- + *comfort*, see *comforten*	2
misese	n	mysese	misease n	OF meseise	2
mispaien	v	myspay	mispay	OF mespaier	2
mister	n	mystere	mister n 1	OF mester	3
mitre	n	mytyr	mitre n 1	OF mitre	2
moneie	n	monye	money n	OF moneie	1
moreine	n	moreyne	murrain	OF morine	1
morsel	n	morsel	morsel n	OF morsel	2
mountaunce	n	mountouns	mauntance	OF montance	1
mucche	n	mucche	-	AN muche from OF muce[13]	1
nature	n	nature	nature n	OF nature	1
nicete	n	nycete	nicety	OF niceté	1
nigromauncie	n	nygromancy	necromancy	OF nigromancie	1
nigromauncien	n	nygromancyene	necromancien	OF nigromancien	2

[11] Gburek argues the adverb was derived from the noun and not the adjective, because the adjective is only attested later. While formation from the noun seems eminently possible, the lack of attestations for the adjective need not point to its lack of use in ME at an earlier date, especially if the noun was already in use.

[12] The sense used in *HS* fits with that given for **michen**, though this form is different and attestations are only from 1440. Gburek argues for a derivation simply from an AF *mucher* (*AND* **muscer** has the relevant senses), with no role for the hypothesised OE form the dictionaries refer to.

[13] The *OED* only gives **meuse**, *muse* from OF *muce* from 1523 and not in the meaning used in *HS* ('Versteck, Kästchen' cf. *muce* in Godefroy, Gburek notes).

MED		Gburek entry	*OED*	OF form	x
noble	adj	noble	noble adj etc. A	OF noble	6
nobleie	n	noblye	nobleye	OF nobleie	2
noblely	adv	nobly	nobly	from *noble*	3
noi	n	noy	noy n	aphetic from OF anoi	2
noien	v	noye	noy v	aphetic from *anoye*, see *a-noyd*	2
noise	n	noyse	noise n	OF noise	6
nombre	n	noumbre	number n	OF numbre	2
norishen	v	noryst	nourish v	OF noris- from norir	1
novelrie	n	nouelrye	novelry	OF novelrie	2
offrende	n	offrande	offrand, offerand	ME from OF ofrende, with ending changed after ppl	1
oile	n	oyle	oil n 1	OF oile	1
ointement	n	oynament	ointment	OF oignement	1
olipraunce	n	olypraunce	oliprance	unclear (AN presumed)[14]	2
ordeinen	v	ordeyneþ	ordain v	OF ordeine from ordener	24
ordeinour	n	ordeynours	ordeiner	AN ordeinour	1
ordinarie	n	ordynaryys	ordinary n	OF ordinairie	1
ordinaunce	n	ordynaunce	ordinance n	OF ordenance	11
ordre	n	order	order n	OF ordre	7
ordren	v	ordred	ordered	ME from *ordre* n	4
orisoun	n	orysun	orison	OF oreisoun	9
outrage	n	outrage	outrage n	OF ou(l)trage	18
outrage	adj	outrage	outrage adj etc. A	ME from *outrage* n	1
outrage	adv	outrage	outrage adj etc. B	from *outrage* adj	1
outragen	v	outrage	outrage	OF outrager[15]	1
outraious	adv	outraious	cf. outrageous	OF outrageus[16]	1
outraiously	adv	outraiusly	cf. outrageously	from *outraious*	1
overchargen	v	ouercharge	overcharge	ME from over- +	1

[14] Although the ultimate etymology is unclear, the word translates OF *orprance* in the *Manuel* at 4578 (see *OED* for discussion of etymology, and Gburek's note). The modification of <*or*-> to <*oly*-> might be due to the form *oyl* in the same line of the source.

[15] Gburek notes that this is the first attestation of the verb, and may derive by relative chance from a reformulation of 'þogh þey outrage do and foly' by changing the order of *do* and *and*.

[16] Given the consistent scribal tendency to write the affricate with simple <*i*> in MS H, this is just the normal word with the normal etymon, without need for a derivation from *outray* + *ous*, as the *OED* suggested (Gburek).

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**OF form**	**x**
				chargen v[17]	
overturnen	v	ouerturned	overturn v	ME from over + *turnen*	1
page	n 1	page	page n 1	OF page	1
paie	n	pay	pay n	OF paie	22
paienie	n	paynye	payeny	OF painie	1
painime	n	paynym	paynim	OF paynime	2
palais	n	paleys	palace n 1	OF paleis	5
palesie	n	pallesye	palsy n etc. A	ME from OF paralisie	1
palmere	n	palmers	palmer n 1	AN palmer	1
par	prep	pur	pur- prefix cf. pur charite, par prep	AN pur- from OF pur-, por-[18]	5
paradise	n	paradys	paradise n	OF paradis, L	7
paraventure	adv	perauenture	peradventure adv	OF per (par) aventure	9
parcel	n	parcelles	parcel n	OF parcelle	2
parchemin	n	parchemen	parchment n	OF parchemin	2
parfite	adj	parfyte	parfect adj etc. B	OF parfit(e)	3
parfitli	adv	parfytely	perfectly	from *parfite*	1
parishe	n	parysshe	parish cf. parish priest	OF paroisse	4
parishen	n 1	parisshenes	parishen n 1, parishion	OF paroissien	5
part	n	part	part n etc.	OF part	10
partable	adj	partable	partable	OF partable	1
parten	v	parte	part v	OF partir	9
partenere	n	partyners	partner n	ME from AN parcener + influence of *part*	1
partie	n	party	cf. aparty	OF parti(e)[19]	26
pase	n 1	pas	pace n 1, pass n 1	OF pas	12
passinge	ger	passyng	passing	from *passen*	1
passioun	n	passyun	passion n	OF passiun	11
paste	n 1	paste	paste n	OF paste	2
pasture	n	pasture	pasture n	OF pasture	4
patene	n	pateyn	paten	OF patène	1
pavement	n	pament	pavement n	OF pavement	2

[17] The *OED* refers to the example of French *surcharger*. Gburek notes this is not in the source while *HS* is the first attestation of the English form.
[18] This word is used only in the phrase *pur charite*, in direct or indirect speech or the narrator's address to the reader (1942, 5609, 7890, 10363, 10407). See 5.4.2.
[19] Five of the uses in *HS* are in the phrase *a party*, modelled on French *a/en partie*.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**OF form**	**x**
pechche	n	pecches	–	OF pechie[20]	4
peine	n	peyne	pain n 1	OF peine cf. *pine*	63
peinen	v	payne	pain v	OF pein- from inf pener	1
peinten	v	peynted	paint v 1	OF peint from inf peindre	2
peis	n	peys	peise n	AN peis 'weight'	3
peisen	v	peyse	peise v cf. pease v	OF peise from inf peser	1
pel	n 1	pele	peel n 1	AN pel (gloss: perche)	2
penaunce	n	penaunce	penance n	OF penance	57
penible	adv	peyneble	penibly cf. penible	ME from OF penible adj + influence *peine* n[21]	1
penne	n	penne	pen n 2	OF penne	1
peple	n	pepyl	people n	AN people	2
per	n	pere	peer n etc.	OF pe(e)r	11
percen	v	perced	pierce v	OF percer	2
peril	n	perel	peril n	OF peril	21
perilous	adj	perylous	perilous	AN perillous	8
perishen	v	perysshe	perish v	OF periss- from inf perir	1
persoune	n 1	persone	parson and person, n	OF persone[22]	15
pestilence	n	pestelens	pestilence n	OF pestilence	1
pichere	n	pecher	pitcher n 1	OF pechier	1
pie	n 1	pye	pie n 1	OF pie (bird)	3
pigace	n	pygace	–	OF pigace (gloss: so grete as þou)	1
pikeis	n	pykeys	pickax	OF picois	1
pilgrim	n	pylgryme	pilgrim n	ME from OF *pelegrin cf. OHD piligrim from OF	4
pilgrimage	n	pylgymage	pilgrimage	OF pelrimage, peligrinage	3
pitaunce	n	pytaunce	pittance n	OF pitance	1
pite	n	pyte	pity n	OF pité	14
pitifully	adv	pytyffully	– cf. piteous	MS F: ME from	1

[20] Its first use is explained after which it is used freely, and can be considered an English word, like *manuel* (Gburek); but there are no signs of integration in ME, with one other attestation in *MED*, for *Pearl* c.1380. The semantic concept was covered well by the well-established native form **sin**.

[21] Gburek argues that the forms *peyneble* and *peynybly* should not be coalesced into a single entry, as the *OED* does.

[22] Gburek discusses the considerations for the resolution of the abbreviation of the prefix, common in MSS H and B. He points out that the modern distinction between **parson** and *pe**r**son* was not yet applicable.

MED		Gburek entry	*OED*	OF form	x
				pite + ful + ly; MS H: from OF piteus (AN pitous) + ful + ly	
place	n	place	place n	OF place	18
planke	n	plank	plank n	ONF planke	1
pleinen	v	pleyneþ	plain v	OF plaign- from inf plaindre	8
plenerlie	adv	plenerly	plenarly	ME from AN plener	4
plente	n	plente	plenty	OF plenté	1
plesen	v	plese	please v	OF plaisir	4
pleten	v	plete	plead v B	ME from AN *pleter, OF plaitier, nebenform to plaidier	2
pletour	n	playtour	pleader n 1	ME from OF plaideor with change of suffix and influence of *pleten*	2
pointe	n 1	point	point n 1	OF point, pointe	61
pompe	n	pompe	pomp n	OF pompe / L pompa	3
porche	n	porche	porch	OF porche	1
porter	n	porter	porter n 1	AN porter	5
pouere	n	powere	power n 1	AN poër	37
pouste	n	pouste	poustie	OF pousté	6
poverte	n	pouert	poverty	OF poverté	9
prechen	v	preche	preach v	OF prech(i)er	12
prechinge	ger	prechyng	preaching	from *prechen*	4
prechour	n	prechour	preacher	AN prechour from OF prech(e)or	2
predicacioun	n	predycacyoun	predication	OF predicaciun	1
preien	v 1	prey, pray	pray v	OF preier	76
preiere	n 2	preyere	prayer n 1	OF preiere	31
preiinge	ger	preyyng	praying	from *preien*	2
preisen	v	preyse	praise v	OF preisier	16
presente	n 1	present	present n 2	OF present	7
presente	n 2	present	present n 1	OF present, substantive use of adj	4
presentement	n	presentment	presentment	OF presentement	2
presenten	v	present	present v	OF presenter	1
preven	v	preue ‘test’	prove B	OF proev- from inf prover cf. proue	15

MED		Gburek entry	*OED*	OF form	x
preven	v	proue 'prove'	prove A	OF prover cf. *preven*	6
principal	adj	pryncypalle	principal A	OF principal	1
prioresse	n	pryores	prioress	OF prioress	1
priorie	n	pryorye	priory	AN priorie	1
pris	n 1	prys	price n, prize n 1	OF pris	17
prisoun	n	prysun	prison n	OF prison for older preson, AN prisoun	7
privelie	adv	pryuyly	privily	from *pryue*	11
privete	n	pryuyte	privity	OF privité	31
procuremente	n	procurement	procurement	OF procurement	3
professioun	n	professyoun	profession	OF profession	1
profite	n 1	profyte	profit n cf. v	OF profit[23]	3
profren	v	profrede	proffer v	OF proffrir	2
prophecie	n	prophecye	prophecy	OF profecie	4
propre	adj	proper	proper adj etc.	OF propre	1
proprete	n	properte	property n	ME and AN from OF proprieté	6
prou	n	prow	prow n 2 cf. prew	OF pr(o)u cf. late OF preu cf. to-prow[24]	27
proverbe	n	prouerbe	proverb n	OF proverbe	4
publican	n	publycan	publican n 1	OF publicain, also poplican influenced by puple	5
punishen	v	ponysshed	punish	OF puniss- from inf punir	1
purchase	n	purchace	purchase n	OF purchas	3
purchasen	v	purchace	purchase v	OF purchacier	5
purchasour	n	purchasoure	purchaser	AN purchasour	4
purpure	n	purpure	purpur	OE purpure, L purpura, OF purpre (learned also purpure)	1
purseint	adj	purseynt	purcinct, purseynt	AN purceynt, past pt. of OF porceindre	1
purtenaunce	n	portynaunce	purtenance	AN purtinaunce from OF pertinence	1

[23] The use at 146 is quoted in the *OED* as by far the earliest attestation of the verb, but Gburek shows it may also be considered a noun.

[24] Gburek interprets one use of *prow* in *HS* as of a verb *to-prow*, where the *MED* sees it as noun. It concerns line 62: 'Robert of brunne gretyþ ȝow | Yn alle godenes þat may to prow'. Gburek argues that the language of *HS* has several such verbs, e.g. with *queme*.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**OF form**	**x**
purveiaunce	n	puruyaunce	purveyance	OF purveance	2
purveien	v	purueyst	purvey v	AN purveier	4
queinte	adj	queynte	quaint adj etc. A	OF queinte	4
queintise	n	queyntyse	quaintise n	OF quentise, from queinte	14
queintlie	adv	queyntly	quaintly	from *queinte*	1
quite	adj	quyte	quit, quite adj	OF quite, quitte	8
quiten	v	quite	quit, quite v	OF quiter	7
rage	n	rage	rage n	OF rage	2
ragen	v	rage	rage v	from *rage* n and OF rager	4
raginge	ger	ragyng	raging	from *ragen* v	1
raunsoun	n	raunsun	ransom n	OF raunson	5
ravishen	v	rauyshe	ravish v	OF ravyss- from ravir	7
receiven	v	receyue	receive v	ONF receivre	26
recolage	n	recolage	recolage	from OF rigolage	2
recorden	v	recorde	record v	OF recorder	3
recovere	n	recouere	recover n	OF recovre	1
regnen	v	reyned	reign v	OF regner	2
rejoisen	v	reioshe	rejoice v	OF rejoiss- from rejoir	1
religioun	n	relygyun	religion	AN religiun, OF religion	18
religious	adj	relygyous	religious	OF religious	5
relik	n	relykes	relic	OF relique	2
renoun	n	renoun	renown n	AN renoun (gloss: ‘name’)	6
rente	n	rente	rent n 1	OF rente	3
repentaunce	n	repentaunce	repentance	OF repentance	15
repentaunt	adj	repentaunt	repentant	OF repentant, past part. of repentire cf. repente	3
repenten	v	repente	repent v	OF repentir	16
repreven	v	repreuedyst	reprove	OF repreuv- from reprover	1
rere	adj 1	rere	rear-, rere-supper	OF riere, rere adv and prep, from L retro[25]	3
resonable	adj 2	resonable	reasonable A	OF resonable	1

[25] Although Gburek mentions Latin *retro* as source for the French form, no significant influence on the ME use is to be supposed, especially in the way used in *HS*: it is only used in the phrase *rere sopers*. The first occurrence in the text is a direct translation of French *rere supers*. Gburek’s note further discusses the meaning and usage.

MED		**Gburek entry**	***OED***	**OF form**	**x**
resoun	n 2	resun	reason n 1	OF reson, -soun	38
respite	n	respyte	respite	OF respit	2
restoren	v	restore	restore v	OF restorer	3
resureccioun	n	resurreccyun	resurrection n	OF resurrecciun	1
revelacioun	n	reuelacyun	revelation	OF revelaciun	1
reverence	n	reuerence	reverence n	OF reverence	1
reverse	adj	reuers	reverse adj etc.	OF revers	1
revesten	v	reuest	revest v 1	OF revestir	1
revilen	v	reuylyst	revile v	OF reviler	1
ribaudie	n	rybaudy	ribaldy n	OF ribaudie	4
richesse	n	rychesse	richesse, riches	OF richesce, richeis[26]	6
rime	n 3	ryme	rime n 1	OF rime	7
rimen	v 1	ryme	rime v 1	OF rimer	1
robben	v	robbe	rob v	OF rob(b)er	9
robbere	n	robbour	robber	OF robbour, AN robbere	3
robberie	n	robbery	robbery	OF roberie	8
robe	n	robe	robe n	OF robe	1
rolle	n	roll	roll n 1	OF rolle	5
rolling	ger	rollyng	rolling 1	ME from OF roller	2
rotoure	n	rotoure	rotour	OF roteur, from *rote* (instrument)	1

[26] Gburek comments that forms of the type *ryches* led to 'eine Undeutung des ursprünglichen Sg. zu einem Pl.' and that the instance with this spelling in *HS* cannot be matched to either with certainty.

Bibliography

1. Short-Title References to Editions and Dictionaries

Allen, trans.	Lawman, *Brut,* trans. Rosamund Allen (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1992)
Arnold	Wace, *Le Roman de Brut de Wace*, ed. by Ivor Arnold, 2 vols (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1938)
Brook and Leslie	*Laȝamon:* Brut, 2 vols, ed. by G.L. Brook and R.F. Leslie, EETS o.s. 250, 277 (Oxford: OUP, 1963 and 1978)
Foster	*The Anglo-Norman Alexander (Le Roman de Toute Chevalerie) by Thomas of Kent*, ed. by Brian Foster with the assistance of Ian Short, 2 vols, ANTS XXIX–XXXIII (London, Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1976–77)
Furnivall	Mannyng, Robert, of Brunne, *Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne [and its French original]*, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, EETS o.s. 119, 123 (London: EETS, 1901, 1903 (reprint 1973))
Madden	*Laȝamon's Brut, or Chronicle of Britain: A Poetical Semi-Saxon Paraphrase of the Brut of Wace*, 3 vols, ed. and trans. by Sir Frederic Madden (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1847)
Smithers	*Kyng Alisaunder*, 2 vols, ed. by G.V. Smithers, EETS o.s. 227, 237 (London and New York: EETS, 1952 (repr. 1961))
Sullens	Mannyng, Robert, of Brunne, *Robert Mannyng of Brunne: Handlyng Synne*, ed. by Idelle Sullens (Binghamton, NY: SUNY Press, 1983)
Weiss	Wace, *Wace's 'Roman de Brut': A History of the British. Text and Translation*, ed. and trans. by Judith Weiss, Exeter Medieval English Texts and Studies (Exeter: Exeter UP, 1999)
AFW	*Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, ed. by Adolf Tobler and others (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1925–2002)
AND	*Anglo-Norman Dictionary: revised edition*, ed. by William Rothwell and others (London: MHRA, 2003–2012), published

online at <www.anglo-norman.net>

Bosworth-Toller *An Anglo-Saxon dictionary: based on the manuscript collections of J. Bosworth*, ed. by T. Northcote Toller and others (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882; supplemented 1972)

CMEPV *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2001), available at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/c/cme/>

DEAF *Dictionnaire étymologique de l'ancien français*, ed. by Kurt Baldinger and others (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1971 to present), published online at <www.deaf-page.de>

DMF *Dictionnaire de moyen français*, version 2010 (ATILF – CNRS & Nancy Université), published online at <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf>

DMLBS *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. by R. E. Latham and others (Oxford: OUP (for the British Academy), 1975 to present), accessible online at <http://logeion.uchicago.edu>

DOE *The Dictionary of Old English*, ed. by Angus Cameron and others (Toronto: Dictionary of Old English Project, 2016), for A–H published online at <http://www.doe.utoronto.ca>

Du Cange *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, ed. by Charles du Fresne, sieur du Cange, new edn by Léopold Favre (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1883–1887 (reprinted in 5 vols, 1954))

FEW *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch: Eine Darstellung des galloromanischen Sprachschatzes*, 25 vols, ed. by Walther von Wartburg and others (Basel: Zginden, 1922–1978)

Godefroy *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle*, ed. by Frédéric Godefroy (Paris: Librairie des Sciences et des Arts, 1881–1902), available online at <http://micmap.org/dicfro/search/dictionnaire-godefroy/>

HTOED *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. by Christian Kay and others (Oxford: OUP, 2009), available online

	at <http://www.oed.com>
LAEME	*A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English, 1150–1325*, compiled by Margaret Laing (Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh, 2008), available at <http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme1/ laeme1.html>
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*, ed. by Hans Kurath and others (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952–2001), published online at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>
OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. by John A. Simpson and others (1st edn 1884–1928, supplemented 1933 and 1972–1986, 2nd edn 1989, added to 1993–1997, 3rd edn in progress), published at <http://www.oed.com>
TLF	*Trésor de la langue française: Dictionnaire de la langue du XIXe et XXe siècle (1789–1960)*, 16 vols, ed. by Paul Imbs and Bernard Quemada (Paris: Gallimard, 1971–1994), available online at <http://atilf.atilf.fr/tlf.htm>

2. Other Reference Works and Primary Sources

Alexandre du Pont, *Le Roman de Mahomet*, ed. by Yvan G. LePage, Ktēmata 14 (Louvain and Paris: Peeters, 1996)

Aspin, I. S. T., ed., *Anglo-Norman Political Songs* (Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1953)

Aungier, G.J., ed., *Chroniques de London depuis l'an 44 Henry III jusqu'à l'an 17 Edward III*, Camden Society 28 (London: Camden Society, 1844)

Belfour, A.O., ed., *Twelfth-Century Homilies in MS Bodley 343*, EETS o.s. 137 (London: EETS, 1909 (repr. 1962))

Brown, B. D., ed., *The Southern Passion*, EETS o.s. 169 (London and New York: EETS, 1927 (reprint 1987))

Burnley, David, and Alison Wiggins, eds, *The Auchinleck Manuscript* (National Library of Scotland: 5 July 2003), <http://www.nls.uk/auchinleck/>

Cambrensis, Giraldus, *Expugnation Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland*, ed. and trans. by A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978)

Dean, Ruth, *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts* (London, ANTS, 1999)

Formisano, L., ed., *La Destructioun de Rome* (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1990)

Furnivall, Frederick J., ed., *Fifty earliest English wills in the Court of Probate, London: A.D. 1387–1439*, EETS o.s. 78 (London: EETS, 1882, reprinted 2008)
——, ed., *The Story of England by Robert Manning of Brunne, A.D. 1338* (London: Longman & Co., 1887)
——, *A Royal Historie of the Excellent Knight Generides*, Roxburghe Club 85 (Hertford: Roxburghe Club, 1865)
Gaimar, Geffrei, *Estoire des Engleis (History of the English)*, ed. and trans. by Ian Short (Oxford: OUP, 2009)
Gburek, Hubert, *Der Wortschatz Des Robert Mannyng of Brunne in Handlyng Synne*. Bamberg: M. Schadel, 1977
Keller, Hans-Erich, *Étude Descriptive sur le Vocabulaire de Wace* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1953)
Ker, N.R., ed., *The Owl and the Nightingale: Reproduced in Facsimile from the Surviving Manuscripts Jesus College Oxford 29 and British Museum Cotton Caligula A.ix*, EETS o.s. 251 (London: EETS, 1963 for 1962)
Lass, Roger and others, eds, *Corpus of Narrative Etymologies*, with webscripts by Keith Williamson (University of Edinburgh: 2013 to present), <http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/CoNE/CoNE.html>
Leclanche, Jean-Luc, and Herbert le Duc De Danmartin, eds, *Le Roman De Dolopathos* (Paris: Champion, 1997)
Macrae-Gibson, O.D., ed., *Of Arthur and Merlin*, 2 vols, EETS o.s. 268, 279 (London: EETS, 1973–1979)
Mannyng, Robert, of Brunne, *The Chronicle*, ed. by Idelle Sullens, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 135 (Binghamton, NY: SUNY Press, 1996)
Monmouth, Geoffrey of, *The History of the Kings of Britain. An Edition and Translation of the De gestis Britonum [Historia Regum Britanniae]*, ed. by Michael D. Reeve, trans. by Neil Wright (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007)
Monmouth, Geoffrey of, *The Historia Regum Britanniae I: Bern Bürgerbibliothek MS 568 (the 'Vulgate' Version)*, ed. by Neil Wright (Cambridge: Brewer, 1984)
Monmouth, Geoffrey of, *The Historia Regum Britanniae II: the First Variant Version*, ed. by Neil Wright (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1988)
Pearsall, Derek, and I. Cunningham, eds, *The Auchinleck Manuscript* (London: Scolar Press, 1977)
Roquefort, Jean Baptiste De, *Glossaire de la langue romane* [...], 3 vols (Paris: B. Warée, 1808–1820)
Rotelande, Hue de, *Protheselaus*, ed. by A.J. Holden (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1991–1993)
Shepherd, Stephen H. A., ed., *Middle English Romances* (New York and London: Norton, 1995)
Stevenson, Angus, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of English*, 3rd edn (Oxford: OUP, 2010)
Thuresson, B., *Middle English Occupational Terms*, Lund Studies in English 19 (Lund : Gleerup, 1950)

Verwijs, E. and others, eds, *Middenederlandsch woordenboek* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1885–1971), available online at <http://gtb.inl.nl>

Wace, *Maistre Wace's Roman de Rou et des Ducs de Normandie*, ed. by H. Andresen, 2 vols (Heilbronn: Henninger, 1877–1879)

Wace: The 'Roman de Rou', trans. Glyn S. Burgess, with the text of A.J. Holden and notes by Glyn S. Burgess and Elisabeth van Houts (St Helier: Société Jersiaise, 2002)

Walter de Bibbesworth, *Le Tretiz, edited by William Rothwell from MS. G (Cambridge University Library Gg.1.1) and MS. T (Trinity College, Cambridge 0.2.21) together with two Anglo-French poems in praise of women (British Library, MS. Additional 46919)* (The Anglo-Norman On-Line Hub 2009)

Wogan-Browne, Jocelyn, and others, eds, *The Idea of the Vernacular* (Exeter: Exeter UP and Pennsylvania State UP, 1999)

Wright, W.A., ed., *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, RS 86 (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1887)

3. Secondary Sources

Adams, J.N., 'Late Latin,' in *A Companion to the Latin Language*, ed. by James Clackson (Chichester: Blackwell, 2011), pp. 257–83

Aijmer, Karin, *Understanding Pragmatic Markers: A Variational Pragmatic Approach* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2013)

Akbari, Suzanne Conklin, 'The Hunger for National Identity in "Richard Coer de Lion"', in *Reading Medieval Culture: Essays in Honor of Robert W. Hanning*, ed. by Robert M. Stein and Sandra Pierson Prior (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 2005), pp. 198–230

——, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2009)

Allen, Lucy Margaret, 'Interpreting the Visual Dynamics of Religious Manuscripts in England, 1260–1500' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, 2013)

Allen, Rosamund, and others, eds, *Reading Laȝamon's 'Brut': approaches and explorations* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013)

Allen, Rosamund, 'The Implied Audience of Laȝamon's *Brut*,' in Le Saux, ed., *The Text and Tradition of Layamon's 'Brut'*, pp. 121–39

——, 'Did Lawman Nod, or Is It We that Yawn?' in Allen and others, eds, *Reading Laȝamon's 'Brut'*, pp. 21–52

——, '"Marcel far to helle; & tel heom þer spelles" (*Brut*, line 13245): 'Off' Jokes and Crude Behaviour in Lawman's *Brut*,' in *Behaving like Fools: Voice, Gesture, and Laughter in Texts, Manuscripts, and Early Books*, ed. by Lucy Perry and Alexander Schwarz, International Medieval Research 17 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 171–92

Allen, W.S., *Vox Latina: A Guide to the Pronunciation of Classical Latin*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: CUP, 1978)
Alonso-Almeida, Francisco, 'The Middle English Medical Charm: Register, Genre and Text Type Variables,' *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 109.1 (2008), 9–38
Amodio, Mark C., 'Layamon's "Brut" and the Survival of Anglo-Saxon Poetry' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1987)
——, 'Layamon's Anglo-Saxon Lexicon and Diction,' *Poetica (Tokyo): An International Journal of Linguistic-Literary Studies* 28 (1988), 48–59
——, *Writing the Oral Tradition: Oral Poetics and Literate Culture in Medieval England* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004)
Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991)
Arnould, E.J., *Le Manuel des Péchés: Étude de Littérature religieuse anglo-normande (XIII*^{me} *siècle)* (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1940)
Barr, Helen, *Socioliterary Practice in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: OUP, 2001)
Barratt, Alexandra, 'Spiritual writings and religious instruction,' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. II, ed. by Nigel Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), pp. 340–66
Barron, W. R. J., 'The Idiom and the Audience of Laȝamon's *Brut*', in *Laȝamon: Contexts, Language, and Interpretation*, ed. by Rosamund Allen and others (London: King's College London, 2002), pp. 157–84
Bartlett, Robert, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (London: Allen Lane / The Penguin Press, 1993)
Baswell, Christopher, 'England's Antiquities: Middle English Literature and the Classical Past', in *A Companion to Medieval English Literature and Culture, c. 1350–c. 1500*, ed. by Peter Brown (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 231–46
——, 'Multilingualism on the Page', in *Middle English*, ed. by Paul Strohm (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007), pp. 38–50
Bately, Janet, 'On Some aspects of the Vocabulary of the West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages: The Language of the Katherine Group', in *Medieval English Studies Presented to George Kane*, ed. by Joseph S. Wittig (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1988), pp. 55–77
Battistella, Edwin, 'Markedness in Linguistics,' in *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 2nd edn, ed. by James D. Wright (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2015), pp. 533–37
Baugh, Albert C., and Thomas Cable, *A History of the English Language*, 3rd edn (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978)
Bell, Kimberly K., and Julie Nelson Couch, eds, *The texts and contexts of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108: The shaping of English vernacular narrative* (Leiden: Brill, 2011)
Bellis, Joanna, 'Mapping the national narrative: Place-name Etymology in Laȝamon's *Brut* and its Sources,' in Allen and others, eds, *Reading Laȝamon's 'Brut'*, pp. 321–42

Benskin, Michael, and Margaret Laing, 'Translations and Mischsprachen in Middle English Manuscripts,' in *So meny people longages and tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh*, ed. by Michael Benskin and M. Samuels (Edinburgh: The Editors, 1981), pp. 55–106

Besamusca, Bart, 'Cyclification in Middle Dutch Literature: The Case of the *Lancelot* Compilation,' in *Cyclification: The Development of Narrative Cycles in the Chansons de Geste and the Arthurian Romances*, ed. by B. Besamusca, W.P. Gerritsen, C. Hogetoorn and O.S.H. Lie, KNAW Verhandelingen, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks 159 (Amsterdam: KNAW Verhandelingen, 1994), pp. 82–91

Biber, Douglas and Susan Conrad, *Register, Genre, and Style*, Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics (Cambridge: CUP, 2009)

Biggar, Raymond G., Review of *Robert Mannyng of Brunne, Handlyng Synne*, ed. by Idelle Sullens, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 14 (Binghamton: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, State University of New York), *Speculum* 62.4 (Oct. 1987), 969–73

——, 'Mannyng, Robert (*d.* in or after 1338),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17986>, [accessed 9 Dec 2016]

Bitterling, Klaus, '"Anoyntyng" in Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne*,' *Notes and Queries* 26 (1979), 8–9

Blackledge, Adrian, and Angela Creese, *Multilingualism: A Critical Perspective*, Advances in Sociolinguistics, ed. by Sally Johnson (London and New York: Continuum, 2010)

Blake, Norman F., *The English Language in Medieval Literature* (London: Dent, 1977)

Blenner-Hassett, Roland, *A Study of the Place-Names in Lawman's 'Brut'*, Stanford University Publications Language and Literature IX.1 (Stanford: Stanford UP / London: OUP, 1950)

Bly Calkin, Siobhain, *Saracens and the Making of English Identity: The Auchinleck Manuscript* (New York and London: Routledge, 2005)

Bøgholm, N., *The Layamon Texts: A Linguistical Investigation* (Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard, 1944)

Böhnke, Max, *Die Flexion des Verbums in Laȝamons Brut* (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1906)

Boitani, Piero, *English Medieval Narrative in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, trans. Joan Krakover Hall (Cambridge: CUP, 1982)

Boyle, Leonard E., 'The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology,' in *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*, ed. By Thomas J. Heffernan (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985)

Bradbury, Nancy, *Writing Aloud: Storytelling in Late Medieval England* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1998)

Brennan, John P., ‘Revision and Genre: The Case of Lawman’s Brut,’ Genre Bending in Lawman’s *Brut*, *International Congress on Medieval Studies*, Kalamazoo (14 May 2015)
Brennan, Timothy, ‘The national longing for form’, in *Nation and Narration*, ed. by Homi Bhabha (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), pp. 44–70
Bridges, Margaret, ‘VIII Lettres anglaises dans une culture plurilingue,’ in *La fascination pour Alexandre le Grand dans les littératures européennes (Xe–XVIe siècle): réinventions d’un mythe*, ed. by Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas, vol. I (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 451–89
Brinton, Laurel, ‘Discourse Markers,’ in *Historical Pragmatics*, ed. by Andreas H. Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen, Handbooks of pragmatics 8 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2010), pp. 285–314
——, *Pragmatic Markers in English: Grammaticalization and Discourse Functions* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1996)
Britnell, Richard, ‘Town Life,’ in Horrox and Ormrod, eds, *A Social History of England*, pp. 134–78
——, ‘Uses of French Language in Medieval English Towns,’ in Wogan-Browne, ed., *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*, pp. 81–89
Bryan, Elizabeth J., ‘Layamon’s Four Helens: Female Figurations of Nation in the *Brut*,’ *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 26 (1995), 63–78
——, ‘The Two Manuscripts of Laȝamon’s *Brut*: Some Readers in the Margins,’ in Le Saux, ed., *The Text and Tradition of Layamon’s ‘Brut’*, pp. 89–102
——, *Collaborative Meaning in Medieval Scribal Culture: The Otho Layamon* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1999)
——, ‘Laȝamon,’ in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. by Graeme Dunphy and Cristian Bratu (Leiden: Brill, 2010)
——, ‘Laȝamon’s *Brut* and the vernacular text: widening the context,’ in Allen, Perry and Roberts, eds, *Reading Laȝamon’s ‘Brut’*, pp. 661–689
Burek, Jacqueline M., ‘“Ure Bruttisce speche”: Language, Culture, and Conquest in Laȝamon’s *Brut*,’ *Arthuriana* 26.1 (Spring 2016), 108–23
Burke, Peter, *Language and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004)
Burnley, J.D., ‘“Chaucer’s Termes”,’ *Yearbook of English Studies* 7 (1977), 53–67
——, *A Guide to Chaucer’s Language* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983)
——, ‘“As this clerkes seyen”: exophoric reference in Middle English and French narrative,’ in *De mot en mot: Aspects of medieval linguistics. Essays in honour of William Rothwell*, ed. by Stewart Gregory and D.A. Trotter (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), pp. 1–16
Burrow, John, ‘The Languages of Medieval England’, in Ellis, ed., *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, pp. 7–28
Bush, Stephen H., ‘Old Northern French Loanwords in Middle English,’ *Philological Quarterly* 1.3 (Jan. 1922), 161–72

Butterfield, Ardis, *The Familiar Enemy — Chaucer, Language and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford: OUP, 2009)
Bzdyl, Donald G., *Laȝamon's 'Brut': a History of the Britons*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 65 (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1989)
Calin, William, *The French Tradition and the Literature of Medieval England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994)
Campbell, Emma, *Medieval Saints' Lives: The Gift, Kinship and Community in Old French Hagiography* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2008)
Cannon, Christopher, 'The Style and Authorship of the Otho Revision of Layamon's 'Brut',' *Medium Ævum* 62 (1993), 187–209
——, *The Making of Chaucer's English: A Study of Words* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998)
——,'Chaucer's Style', in *The Cambridge Companion to Chaucer*, 2nd edn, ed. by Piero Boitano and Jill Mann (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 233–250
——, 'Chaucer and the Auchinleck Manuscript Revisited,' *The Chaucer Review* 46.1–2 (2011), 131–146
Carpenter, David, *The Minority of Henry III* (Berkely and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990)
——, *The Struggle for Mastery: Britain 1066–1284* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2003)
Cartlidge, Neil, 'The Composition and Social Context of Oxford, Jesus College, Ms 29(Ii) and London, British Library, Ms Cotton Caligula A.Ix.,' *Medium Ævum* 66.2 (1997), 250–69
Cary, George, *The Medieval Alexander* (Cambridge: CUP, 1956)
Catto, Jeremy, 'Written English: The Making of the Language, 1370–1400,' *Past and Present* 179 (2003), 24–59
Cerquiglini, Bernard, *Éloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie*, Des travaux 8 (Paris: Seuil, 1989)
Chambers, R. W., 'The Lost Literature of Medieval England,' *Library*, n.s. 5 (1925), 293–321
Chibnall, Marjorie, *The Debate on the Norman Conquest*, Issues in Historiography (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1999)
Clanchy, M. T., *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993)
——, *England and its Rulers 1066–1307*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006)
Claridge, Claudia, 'Linguistic levels: Styles, registers, genres, text types,' in *English Historical Linguistics: An International Handbook*, ed. by Alexander Bergs and Laurel J. Brinton (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), vol. I, pp. 237–53
Clifton, Nicole, 'Of Arthour and of Merlin as Medieval Children's Literature,' *Arthuriana* 13.2 (Summer 2003), 9–22
——, 'The Seven Sages of Rome, Children's Literature, and the Auchinleck Manuscript,' in *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality*, ed. by Regine Eckardt, Klaus von

Heusinger and Christoph Schwarze (Hawthorne, NY: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), pp. 185–201
——, '*Kyng Alisaunder* and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 622,' *Journal of the Early Book Society for the Study of Manuscripts and Printing History* 18 (2015), 29–49
Cohen, J. J., *Hybridity, Identity and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain: On Difficult Middles* (New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2006)
Coleman, Joyce, 'Aurality', in *Middle English*, ed. by Paul Strohm (Oxford: OUP, 2007), pp. 68–84
——, 'Handling Pilgrims: Robert Mannyng and the Gilbertine Cult,' *Philological Quarterly* 81 (2002), 311–26
——, 'Strange rhyme: prosody and nationhood in Robert Mannyng's Story of England,' *Speculum* 78.4 (Oct. 2003), 1214–38
Copeland, Rita, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991)
Coss, P. R., 'Aspects of Cultural Diffusion in Medieval England,' *Past & Present* 108 (1985), 35–79
——, *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003)
Crane, Susan, *Insular Romance: Politics, Faith and Culture in Anglo-Norman and Middle English Literature* (Berkely, CA: University of California Press, 1986)
Crawford, S. J., 'The Worcester Marks and Glosses of the Old English Manuscripts in the Bodleian,' *Anglia* 52.1 (1928), 1–25)
Crofts, Thomas H. and Robert Allen Rouse, 'Middle English Popular Romance and National Identity,' in *A Companion to Medieval Popular Romance*, ed. by Raluca L. Radulescu and Cory James Rushton (Cambridge: Brewer, 2009), pp. 79–95
Crosby, Ruth, 'Robert Mannyng of Brunne: A new biography,' *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 57 (1942), 15–28
Crouch, David, *The English Aristocracy, 1070–1272: A Social Transformation* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale UP, 2011)
Curtius, E.R., *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask, 7th printing with a new afterword (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1990)
Czarnowus, Anna, *Fantasies of the Other's Body in Middle English Oriental Romance* (New York: Peter Lang, 2013)
Dalrymple, Roger, *Language and Piety in Middle English Romance* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000)
Damian-Grint, Peter, *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance: Inventing Vernacular Authority* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999)
Dance, Richard, 'Interpreting Layamon: Linguistic diversity and some cruces in Caligula A.ix, with particular regard to Norse-derived words,' in *Laȝamon: Contexts, Language, and Interpretation*, ed. by Rosamund Allen and others (London: King's College London, 2002), pp. 187–202
——, *Words Derived from Old Norse in Early Middle English: Studies in the Vocabulary of the South-West Midland Texts*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts

and Studies 246 (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2003)
Davenport, F. G., *The Economic Development of a Norfolk Manor 1086–1565* (Cambridge: CUP, 1906)
Davenport, W.A., 'Peter Idley and the devil in Mankind,' *English Studies* 64.2 (1983), 106–12
Davidson, M. C., 'Code-switching and Authority in Late Medieval England,' *Neophilologus* 87 (2003), 473–86
Davies, R. R., *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles, 1093–1343* (Oxford: OUP, 2000)
De mot en mot: Aspects of medieval linguistics. Essays in honour of William Rothwell, ed. by Stewart Gregory and D.A. Trotter (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997)
Diamond, Geneva M., 'Literary influences and adaptation in the Middle English *Kyng Alisaunder*' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Kansas, 2008)
Dinkova-Bruun, Greti, 'Medieval Latin,' in *A Companion to Latin*, ed. by James Clackson (Chichester: Blackwell, 2011), pp. 284–302
Donahue, Dennis P., *Lawman's Brut, an early Arthurian poem: a study of Middle English formulaic composition* (Lewiston: Mellen, 1991)
Donoghue, Daniel, 'Laȝamon's Ambivalence,' *Speculum* 65.3 (1990), 537–63
de Caluwé-Dor, Juliette, 'Divergence lexicale entre le Katherine Group et l'Ancrene Riwle: valeur statistique des premières attestations de mots d'origine française en anglais', *Études Anglaises,* 30 (1977), 463–72
Dor, Juliette, 'Post-dating Romance loan-words in Middle English: Are the French words of the *Katherine Group* English?', in *History of Englishes: New Methods and Interpretations in Historical Linguistics*, ed. by Matti Rissanen and others (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), pp. 483–505
Duby, Georges, *Les Trois Ordres, ou l'Imaginaire du Féodalisme* (Paris: Gallimard, 1978)
Durkin, Philip, 'Laȝamon in the third edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*,' in *Laȝamon: Contexts, Language, and Interpretation*, ed. by Rosamund Allen and others (London: King's College London, 2002), pp. 203–10
——, 'Etymological research on English words as a source of information about Anglo-French,' in *Present and future research in Anglo-Norman: Aberystwyth Colloquium, July 2011*, ed. by David Trotter (Aberystwyth: The Anglo-Norman Hub, 2012), pp. 101–07
——, *Borrowed Words: A History of Loanwords in English* (Oxford: OUP, 2014).
Eco, Umberto, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semantics of Texts* (London: Hutchinson, 1981)
Edward Wheatley, 'The Developing Corpus of Literary Translation', in Ellis, ed., *The Oxford History of Literary Translation*, pp. 173–89

Eley, Penny, and Philip E. Bennett, 'The Battle of Hastings according to Gaimar, Wace and Benoît: rhetoric and politics,' *Notthingham Medieval Studies* 43 (1999), 47–78

Ellis, Roger, ed., *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Vol. 1: To 1550* (Oxford: OUP, 2008)

——, 'Patronage and Sponsorship of Translation,' in Ellis, ed., *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, pp. 98–15

Elsweiler, Christine, *Laȝamon's 'Brut' Between Old English Heroic Poetry and Middle English Romance*, Münchener Universitätsschriften 35 (Frankfurt: Lang, 2011)

Faulner, Mark, 'Archaism, Belatedness and Modernisation: "Old" English in the Twelfth Century,' *Review of English Studies* 62.259 (2011), 179–203

Fennell, Barbara, *A History of English: A Sociolinguistic Approach*, Blackwell Textbooks in Linguistics (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001)

Feros Ruys, Juanita, ed., *What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods*, Disputatio 15 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008)

Feulner, Anna Helene, *Die griechischen Lehnwörter im Altenglischen,* Texte und Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie 21 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000)

Field, Rosalind, 'Subjects of Translation: Romance,' in Ellis, ed., *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, pp. 296–331

——, 'Popular Romance: The Material and the Problems,' in *A Companion to Medieval Popular Romance*, ed. by Raluca L. Radulescu and Cory James Rushton (Cambridge: Brewer, 2009), pp. 9–30

Forde, Simon, and others, eds, *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, Leeds Texts and Monographs, n.s., 14 (Leeds: Leeds Studies in English, 1995)

Fulton, Helen, 'Negotiating Welshness: Multilingualism in Wales Before and After 1066,' in *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in England, c. 800 – 1250*, ed. by E.M. Tyler (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 145–70

Furrow, Melissa, 'Unscholarly Latinity and Margery Kempe', in *Studies in English Language and Literature: 'Doubt wisely' Papers in honour of E.G. Stanley*, ed. by M.J. Toswell and E.M. Tyler (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 240–51

Galbraith, Vivian H., 'Language and Nationality in Medieval England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 23 (1941), 113–28

Gaullier-Bougassas, Catherine, ed., *La fascination pour Alexandre le Grand dans les littératures européennes (Xe–XVIe siècle): réinventions d'un mythe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014)

Geertz, Clifford, 'Primordial and civic ties,' in *Nationalism*, ed. by John Hutchison and Anthony D. Smith (Oxford, OUP: 1994), pp. 29–34

Greenspan, Kate, 'Lessons for the Priest, Lessons for the People: Robert Mannyng of Brunne's Audiences for *Handlyng Synne*,' *Essays in Medieval Studies* 21 (2004), 109–21

Hamers, Josiane F., and Michel H. A. Blanc, *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: CUP, 2000)
Hanna, Ralph, 'Reconsidering the Auchinleck Manuscript,' in *New Directions in Later Medieval Manuscript Studies*, ed. by Derek Pearsal (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), pp. 91–102
——, *London Literature, 1300–1380* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005)
Harding, Alan, *England in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993)
Hasenfratz, Robert, 'Terror and Pastoral Care in *Handlyng Synne*,' in *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care: Essays in Honour of Bella Millett*, ed. by Cate Gunn and Catherine Innes-Parker (York: York Medieval Press, 2009), pp. 132–48
Hastings, Adrian, *The Construction of Nationhood. Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997)
Hebda, Anna, 'Onde and envy: A diachronic cognitive approach', in *Studies in Old and Middle English*, ed. by J. Fisiak (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2011), pp. 107–26
Helbert, Daniel, '"an Arður sculde ȝete cum": The Prophetic Hope in Twelfth-Century Britain,' *Arthuriana* 26.1 (2016), 77–107
Heng, Geraldine, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003)
——, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (Cambridge: CUP, 2018)
Hesketh, Glynn, 'Lexical innovation in the *Lumere as Lais*,' in *De mot en mot: Aspects of medieval linguistics. Essays in honour of William Rothwell*, ed. by Stewart Gregory and D.A. Trotter (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), pp. 53–80
Hines, John, *The Fabliau in English* (London: Longman, 1993)
Horobin, Simon, and Alison Wiggins, 'Reconsidering Lincoln's Inn Ms 150,' *Medium Ævum* 77:1 (2008), 30–53
Horrox, Rosemary, and W. M. Ormrod, eds, *A Social History of England, 1200–1500* (Cambridge: CUP, 2006)
Hsy, Jonathan, 'Translation, Suspended: Literary Code-Switching and Poetry of Sea Travel,' in *Lost in Translation*, ed. by D. Renevey and C. Whitehead, The Medieval Translator 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 33–45
Hughes, Geoffrey, *Words in Time: A Social History of the English Vocabulary* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988)
Hunt, Tony, *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Brewer, 1991)
——, 'Vernacular glosses in medieval manuscripts', *Cultura Neo-Latina* 39 (1997), 9–37
——, 'Code-switching in Medical Texts,' in *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain*, ed. by David Trotter (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000), pp. 141–48
Ingham, Richard, 'Mixing Languages on the Manor', *Medium Ævum* 78:2 (2009), 80–97
——, *The Transmission of Anglo-Norman: Language History and Language Acquisition* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012)

Iser, Wolfgang, *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett* (Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 1974)
Iwasaki, Haruo, 'A Few Notes on the Vocabulary of Layamon's Brut,' *Poetica (Tokyo): An International Journal of Linguistic-Literary Studies* 24 (1986), 1–15
Jauss, Hans Robert, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1982)
Johnson, Lesley, 'Reading the past in Laȝamon's *Brut*,' in Le Saux, ed., *The Text and Tradition of Layamon's 'Brut'*, pp. 141–60
——, 'Imagining Communities: Medieval and Modern', pp. 1–20,' in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Simon Forde and others, Leeds Texts and Monographs, n.s., 14 (Leeds: Leeds Studies in English, 1995), pp. 125–36
Johnston, Michael, *Romance and the Gentry in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: OUP, 2014)
Joseph, John E., *Language and Identity: National, Ethnic, Religious* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004)
——, 'Historical perspectives on language and identity,' in Preece, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Language and Identity*, pp. 19–33
Jucker, Andreas H. and Irma Taavitsainen, *English Historical Pragmatics* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2013)
Käsmann, Hans, *Studien zum kirchlichen Wortschatzes Mittelenglischen, 1100–1350. Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Sprachmischung (*Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1961)
Kemmler, Fritz, *Exempla in context: a historical and critical study of Robert Mannyng of Brunne's 'Handlyng synne'* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1984)
Kibbee, Douglas A., *For to speke Frenche trewely: The French Language in England, 1000–1600: Its Status, Description and Instruction* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1991)
Kirby, Ian, 'Angles and Saxons in Laȝamon's *Brut*,' *Studia Neophilologica* 36.1 (January 1964), 51–62
——, 'A Tale of Two Cities: London and Winchester in Laȝamon's *Brut*,' in Allen and others, eds, *Reading Laȝamon's 'Brut'*, pp. 287–94
Kleinman, Scott, 'The Æðelen of Engle: Constructing Ethnic and Regional Identities in Laȝamon's Brut,' *Exemplaria* 16.1 (2004), 95–130
Kohl, Stephan, 'Fremdheitserfahrung in mittelenglischen Alexandertexten,' in *Fremderfahrung in Texten des Spätmittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Günter Berger and Stephan Kohl (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1993), pp. 47–58
Kooper, Erik, 'Layamon's prosody: Caligula and Otho — Metres Apart,' in Allen and others, eds, *Reading Laȝamon's 'Brut'*, pp. 419–41
Laidlaw, James, 'Christine and the manuscript tradition,' in *Christine de Pizan: A Casebook*, ed. by Barbara K. Altmann and Deborah L. McGrady (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 231–50
Laing, Margaret, *A Catalogue of Sources for a Linguistic Atlas of Early Medieval English* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1993)

——, ‘Multidimensionality: Time, Space and Stratigraphy in Historical Dialectology,’ in *Methods and Data in English Historical Dialectology*, ed. by M. Dossena and Roger Lass (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004), pp. 49–96
Lamont, Margaret, ‘Becoming English: Ronwenne’s Wassail, Language, and National Identity in the Middle English Prose *Brut*,’ *Studies in Philology* 107.3 (Summer 2010), 283–309
Laurent, Françoise, *Plaire et édifier: les récits hagiographiques composés en Angleterre aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Paris: Champion, 1998)
Lavezzo, Kathy, ‘Nation,’ in *A Handbook of Middle English Studies*, ed. by Marion Turner (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), pp. 363–78
Le Saux, Françoise, *Layamon’s ‘Brut’: The Poem and its Sources*, Arthurian Studies XIX (Cambridge: Brewer, 1989)
Le Saux, Françoise, ed., *The Text and Tradition of Layamon’s ‘Brut’*, Arthurian studies 23 (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994)
Leech, Geoffrey N., and Michael H. Short, *Style in fiction: A linguistic introduction to English fictional prose* (London and New York: Longman, 1981)
Lerer, Seth, *Inventing English* (New York: Columbia UP, 2007)
——, ‘Old English and its afterlife,’ in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. by David Wallace (Cambridge: CUP, 2013), pp. 7–34
Loomis, Laura Hibbard, ‘The Auchinleck Manuscript and a Possible London Bookshop of 1330–1340,’ *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 57 (1942), 595–627
Luhmann, Adolf, *Die Überlieferung von Laȝamons ‘Brut’, nebst einder Darstellung der betonten Vokale und Diphthonge*, *Studien zur Englishen Philologie* XXII (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1906)
Lumiansky, R. M., ‘Legends of Alexander the Great,’ in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500, vol. 1: Romances*, ed. by J. Burke Severs (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967), pp. 105–06
Lusignan, Serge, ‘French Language in Contact with English: Social Context and Linguistic Change (mid-13th – 14th centuries),’ in Wogan-Browne, ed., *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*, pp. 19–30
Lytra, Vally, ‘Language and ethnic identity,’ in Preece, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Language and Identity*, pp. 131–45
Machan, Tim William, ‘Language and Society in Twelfth-Century England’, in *Placing Middle English in Context*, ed. by Irma Taavitsainen and others (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000), pp. 43–65
——, *English in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003)
——, ‘Manuscript Culture’, in Ellis, ed., *The Oxford History of Literary Translation*, pp. 29–44
——, ‘Robert Henryson and the Matter of Multilingualism,’ *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 109:1 (Jan 2010), 52–70
Maddern, Philippa, ‘Social Mobility,’ in Horrox and Ormrod, eds, *A Social History of England*, pp. 113–33

Malkiel, Yakov, ‘Problems in the Diachronic Differentiation of Near-Homophones,’ *Language* 55.1 (March 1979), 1–36
Marchand, Hans, *The Categories and Types of Present-Day English Word-Formation* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1960)
McKendrick Bailey, Hannah, ‘Conquest by Word: The Meeting of Languages in Laȝamon’s *Brut’*, in Allen and others, eds, *Reading Laȝamon’s ‘Brut’*, pp. 269–86
McNelis, James I., ‘Layamon as Auctor,’ in Le Saux, ed., *The Text and Tradition of Laȝamon’s ‘Brut’*, pp. 253–72
Meale, Carol M., ‘“gode men / Wiues maydnes and alle men”: Romance and Its Audiences,’ in *Readings in Medieval English Romance*, ed. by Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), pp. 209–25
Meecham-Jones, Simon, ‘Þe tiden of þisse londe - Finding and Losing Wales in Layamon’s *Brut*,’ in Allen and others, eds, *Reading Laȝamon’s ‘Brut’*, pp. 69–106
Meer, Nasar, *Key Concepts in Race and Ethnicity*, 3rd edn (Los Angeles: Sage, 2014)
Metzner, Ernst Erich, *Zur frühesten Geschichte der europäischen Balladendichtung. Der Tanz von Kölbigk. Legendarische Nachrichten. Gesellschaftlicher Hintergrund. Historische Voraussetzungen*, Frankfurter Beiträge zur Germanistik 14 (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum Verlag, 1972)
Meurman-Solin, Anneli, ‘Variation analysis and diachronic studies of lexical borrowing,’ in *Proceedings from the Fourth Nordic Conference for English Studies*, ed. by G. Caie and others (Copenhagen: Department of English, University of Copenhagen, 1990), pp. 87–98
Miller, D. Gary, *External Influences on English: From its Beginnings to the Renaissance* (Oxford: OUP, 2012)
Miller, Mark, ‘Displaced Souls, Idle Talk, Spectacular Scenes: *Handlyng Synne* and the Perspective of Agency,’ *Speculum* 71 (1996), 606–32
Minkova, Donka, *A Historical Phonology of English, Edinburgh Textbooks on the English Language — Advanced* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2014)
Moffat, Douglas, ‘Sin, conquest, servitude: English self-image in the chronicles of the early fourteenth century,’ in *The Work of Work: Servitude, Slavery, and Labor in Medieval England*, ed. by Allen J. Frantzen and Douglas Moffat (Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 1994), pp. 146–68
Monroe, B.S., ‘French words in Laȝamon,’ *Modern Philology* 4.3 (1907), 559–67
Mooney, Linne R., ‘Chaucer’s Scribe,’ *Speculum* 81.1 (Jan. 2006), 97–138
——, ‘Locating Scribal Activity in Late Medieval London’, in *Design and distribution of late medieval manuscripts in England*, ed. by Margaret Connolly and Linne R. Mooney (York: York Medieval Press, 2008), pp. 183–204
Morris, Richard, *Historical Outlines of English Accidence, comprising chapters on the history and development of the language, and on word-formation*, rev. L. Kellner (London: Macmillan, 1895)
Murchison, Krista A., ‘The Readers of the *Manuel des péchés* Revisited,’ *Philological Quarterly* 95.2 (2016), 161–99

——, ‘Teaching Sin: Manuals for Penitents and Self-Examination Literature in England, 1150–1400’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Ottawa, 2016)
Myers-Scotton, C., ed., *Codes and Consequences: Choosing Linguistic Varieties* (Oxford: OUP, 1998)
Nagy, W.E., and J. Scott, ‘Vocabulary Processes,’ in *Handbook of Reading Research*, vol. III, ed. by M. Kamil and others (Mahwah, N.J.: Erlbaum, 2000), pp. 269–84
Noble, James, ‘Laȝamon’s Ambivalence Reconsidered,’ in Le Saux, ed., *The Text and Tradition of Layamon’s ‘Brut’*, pp. 171–82
Norén, K. and P. Linell, ‘Meaning potentials and the interaction between lexis and contexts: An empirical substantiation,’ *Pragmatics* 17.3 (2007), 387–416
Omoniyi, Tope, ‘Language, race and identity,’ in Preece, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Language and Identity*, pp. 146–62
Orlemanski, Julie, ‘Genre,’ *A Handbook of Middle English Studies*, ed. by Marion Turner (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), pp. 207–21
Orme, Nicholas, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1973)
——, *Medieval Schools from Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006)
Orr, John, *Words and Sounds in English and French*, Modern Language Studies, ed. by J. Boyd and J. Seznec (Oxford: Blackwell, 1953)
——, *Three Studies on Homonymics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1962)
Parsons, David N., ‘Sabrina in the thorns: Place-names as evidence for British and Latin in Roman Britain,’ *Transactions of the Philological Society* 109 (2011), 113–37
Pavlenko, Aneta, and Adrian Blackledge, eds, *Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts*, Bilingual Education and Bilingualism 45, ed. by Nancy H. Hornberger and Colin Baker (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2004)
Pearsall, Derek, ‘The idea of Englishness in the fifteenth century,’ in *Nation, Court and Culture: New Essays on Fifteenth Century English Poetry*, ed. by Helen Cooney (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), pp. 15–27
——, ‘Before Chaucer: evidences of an English literary vernacular with a standardizing tendency,’ in *The Beginnings of Standardization: Language and Culture in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. by Ursula Schaeffer (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 27–41
——, ‘The Auchinleck Manuscript forty years on,’ in *The Auchinleck Manuscript: New Perspectives*, ed. by Susanna Fein (York: York Medieval Press, 2016), pp. 11–25
Perry, Lucy, ‘Origins and Originality: Reading Lawman’s *Brut* and the Rejection of British Library Ms Cotton Otho C.Xiii,’ *Arthuriana* 10.2 (2000), 66–84
——, ‘“Þus heo hit speken”: Direct and Indirect Speech in the Two Versions of Laȝamon’s *Brut*,’ *Neophilologus* 92 (2008), 523–43
——, Review of Christine Elsweiler, *Laȝamon’s ‘Brut’ Between Old English Heroic Poetry and Middle English Romance*, Münchener Universitätsschriften 35 (Frankfurt: Lang, 2011), *Arthuriana* 22.3 (Fall 2012), 94–96
Philips, Helen, ‘Nation, Region, Class and Gender,’ in Ellis, ed., *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, pp. 45–69

Platts, Graham, 'Robert Mannyng Of Bourne's "Handlyng synne" and South Lincolnshire society,' *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 14 (1979), 23–29
Preece, Sian, ed., *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Identity* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016)
Preece, Sian, 'Introduction: language and identity in applied linguistics,' in Preece, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Language and Identity*, pp. 1–16
Prins, Anton Adriaan, *French Influence in English Phrasing* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1952)
Purdie, Rhiannon, *Anglicising Romance: Tail-rhyme and Genre in Medieval English Literature*, Studies in Medieval Romance 9 (Cambridge: Brewer, 2008)
Putter, Ad, 'The French of English Letters: Two Trilingual Verse Epistles in Context,' in Wogan-Browne, ed., *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*, pp. 397–408
——, 'Middle English Romances and the Oral Tradition,' in *Medieval Oral Literature*, ed. by Karl Reichl (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), pp. 335–51
Rasinski, Timothy V., and others, 'Reading Fluency,' in *Handbook of Reading Research*, vol. IV, ed. by Michael L. Kamil and others (New York and London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 286–319
Raymo, Robert R., 'Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction,' in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English* 7, ed. by A.E. Hartung (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1986), pp. 2255–378
Reynolds, Susan, *Kingdoms and communities in Western Europe, 900–1300*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997)
Ribémont, Bernard, 'Encyclopédie et traduction: le double prologue du *Livre des proprietés des choses*', *Seuils de l'oeuvre dans le texte médiévale 2*, ed. by Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Laurence Harf-Lancner (Paris: Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2002), pp. 59–88
Rigby, S. H., 'Introduction: Social structure and economic change in late medieval England', in Horrox and Ormrod, eds, *A Social History of England*, pp. 1–30
Rikhardsdottir, Sif, 'The Imperial Implications of Medieval Translations: Old Norse and Middle English Versions of Marie de France's *Lais*,' *Studies in Philology* 105.2 (2008), 144–64
Roberts, Jane, 'A Preliminary Note on British Library, Cotton MS Caligula A. ix,' in Le Saux, ed., *The Text and Tradition of Layamon's 'Brut'*, pp. 1–14
——, Review of Christine Elsweiler, *Laȝamon's 'Brut' Between Old English Heroic Poetry and Middle English Romance*, Münchener Universitätsschriften 35 (Frankfurt: Lang, 2011), *Anglia* 130.2 (July 2012), 293–97
Robertson, D. W., Jr., 'The Cultural Tradition of *Handlyng Synne*,' *Speculum* 22.2 (April 1947), 164–85
——, 'Frequency of Preaching in Thirteenth Century England,' in *Essays in Medieval Culture* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 114–28
Rohmann, Gregor, 'The Invention of Dancing Mania,' *The Medieval History Journal* 12.1 (2009), 13–45

Rold, Orietta Da, and Mary Swan, 'Linguistic Contiguities: English Manuscripts 1060-1220,' *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in England, c. 800 – 1250*, ed. by E.M. Tyler (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 255–70

Romaine, Suzanne, *Bilingualism*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995)

Rothwell, William, 'Homonymics and Medieval French,' *Archivum Linguisticum* 14.1 (1962), 35–48

——, 'The Role of French in Thirteenth-Century England,' *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 58 (2) (1976), 445–66

——, 'À quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler français en Angleterre?', in *Mélanges de philologie romane offerts à Charles Camproux*, vol. II (Montpellier: Université Paul-Valéry, 1978), pp. 1075–89

——, 'The Missing Link in English Etymology: Anglo-French,' *Medium Ævum* 60 (1991), 173-96

——, 'English and French in England after 1362', *English Studies* 82.6 (2001), 539–59

Rubin, Miri, 'Identities,' in Horrox and Ormrod, eds, *A Social History of England*, pp. 383–412

Runde, Emily, 'Reexamining Orthographic Practice in the Auchinleck Manuscript Through Study of Complete Scribal Corpora,' in *Studies in the history of the English language V: Variation and change in English grammar and lexicon. Contemporary approaches*, ed. by Robert A. Cloutier and others (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2010), pp. 265–92

Scahill, John, 'The Audiences of Medieval Chronicles and of Cotton Caligula A.Ix,' *Geibun Kenkyu: Journal of Arts and Letters, Tokyo*, 80 (2001), 142–57

——, 'Trilingualism in Early Middle English Miscellanies: Languages and Literature', *The Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003), 18–32

Scattergood, John, 'Validating the High Life in *Of Arthour and Merlin* and *Kyng Alisaunder*,' *Essays in Criticism* 54.4 (2004), 323–50

Schemmann, Ulrike, *Confessional Literature and Lay Education: The 'Manuel De Pechez' As a Book of Good Conduct and Guide to Personal Religion*, Studia Humaniora 32 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2000)

Schmid, Wolf, 'Implied Reader,' in *Handbook of Narratology*, 2nd edn, vol. I, ed. by Peter Hühn and others (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), pp. 301–09

Schubert, Christoph, 'Introduction: Current trends in register research,' in *Variational Text Linguistics: Revisiting Register in English*, ed. by Christoph Schubert and Christina Sanchez-Stockhammer (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), pp. 1–15

Scott, Anne M., '"For lewed men y vyndr toke on englyssh tonge to make this boke": *Handlyng Synne* and English Didactic Writing for the Laity,' in *What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods*, ed. by Juanita Feros Ruys, Disputatio 15 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008), pp. 377–400

Shonk, Timothy A., 'Paraphs, piecework, and presentation: the production methods of Auchinleck revisited,' in *The Auchinleck Manuscript: New Perspectives*, ed. by Susanna Fein (York: York Medieval Press, 2016), pp. 176–94

Short, Ian, ‘Patrons and Polyglots: French Literature in Twelfth-Century England’, *Anglo-Norman Studies 14*, ed. by Marjorie Chibnall (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1992), pp. 229–49
——, ‘Language and literature,’ in *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill and Elisabeth van Houts (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), pp. 191–214
Skaffari, Janne, ‘Lexical borrowings in early ME religious discourse’, in *Discourse perspectives on English*, ed. by Risto Hiltunen and Janne Skaffari (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2003), pp. 77–104
——, *Studies in Early Middle English Loanwords: Norse and French Influences* (Turku: University of Turku, 2009)
Smith, Anthony D., *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000)
——, *Nationalism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001)
Smith, Merete, ‘Literary Loanwords from Old French in *The Romaunt of the Rose*: A Note,’ *The Chaucer Review* 17 (1982), 89–93
Smithers, G. V., ‘Another Fragment of the Auchinleck MS,’ in *Medieval Literature and Civilization, Studies in Memory of G. N. Garmonsway*, ed. by D. A. Pearsall and R. A. Waldron (London: Athlone Press, 1969), pp. 192-210
Smyser, H. M., ‘The list of Norman Names in the Auchinleck MS,’ in *Mediaeval Studies in Honor of J. D. M. Ford*, ed. by U. T. Holmes and A. J. Denomy (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948), pp. 257–87
Somerset, Fiona, ‘Mingling with the English in Laȝamon’s *Brut*,’ in *Truth and Tales: Cultural Mobility and Medieval Media*, ed. by Fiona Somerset and Nicholas Watson (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2015), pp. 96-–116
Souza, Ana, ‘Language and religious identities,’ in Preece, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Language and Identity*, pp. 195–209
Speed, Diane, ‘The Construction of the Nation in Medieval English Romance,’ in *Readings in Medieval English Romance*, ed. by Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), pp. 135–58.
Stanley, Eric G., ‘Layamon’s Antiquarian Sentiments,’ *Medium Ævum* 38.1 (1969), 23–37
——, ‘Laȝamon’s Un-Anglo-Saxon Syntax,’ in Le Saux, ed., *The Text and Tradition of Layamon’s ‘Brut’*, pp. 47–56
——, ‘Layamon (*fl.* 13th cent.)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16217, accessed 16 June 2015]
Stein, Robert M., ‘Making History English: Cultural Identity and Historical Explanation in William of Malmesbury and Layamon’s *Brut,*’ in *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed. by Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), pp. 97–115

Stock, Brian, *The Implications of Literacy: Written language and models of interpretation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1983)
Stone, Russell, ‘‘Many man he shal do woo’: Portents and the End of an Empire in Kyng Alisaunder,’ *Medium Ævum* 81:1 (2012), 18–40
Strohm, Paul, ‘Chaucer’s audience(s): fictional, implied, intended, actual’, *Chaucer Review*, 18 (1983), 137–64
Stroud, Theodore A., ‘Scribal Editing in Lawman’s “Brut”,’ *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 51.1 (Jan., 1952), 42–48
Sullivan, Matthew Thomas, ‘The Original and Subsequent Audiences of the Manuel des Péchés and its Middle English Descendants’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 1990)
Summerfield, Thea, *The Matter of Kings’ Lives: The Design of Past and Present in the early fourteenth-century verse chronicles by Pierre de Langtoft and Robert Mannyng* (Atlanta: Rodopi, 1998)
——, ‘“‘Fi a debles,’ quath the king”: language mixing in England’s vernacular historical narratives, c.1290–c.1340,’ in Wogan-Browne, ed., *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*, pp. 68–80
——, ‘“And She Answered in Hir Language”: Aspects of Multilingualism in the Auchinleck Manuscript,’ in *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain c. 1066-1520*, ed. by Ad Putter and Judith A. Jefferson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 241–58
Taavitsainen, Irma, and Päivi Pahta, eds, *Medical and scientific writing in late Medieval English* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004)
Tajfel, H., ‘Social categorization, social identity and social comparison,’ in *Differentiation between social groups: studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*, ed. by H. Tajfel (London: Academic Press, 1978), pp. 61–76
Tatlock, John S. P., *The legendary history of Britain: Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia regum Britanniae and its early vernacular versions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950)
Taubman, Andrew, ‘New Biographical Notes on Robert Mannyng of Brunne,’ *Notes & Queries* 56.2 (2009), 197–201
Thomas, Hugh M., *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity 1066–c.1220* (Oxford: OUP, 2003)
Tiller, Kenneth J., ‘The Truth “Bi Arðure Þan Kinge”: Arthur’s Role in Shaping Lawman’s Vision of History,’ *Arthuriana* 10.2 (2000), 27–49
Treharne, Elaine M., ‘Categorization, Periodization: The Silence of (the) English in the Twelfth Century,’ *New Medieval Literatures 8*, ed. by Rita Copeland and others (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 247–73
——, *Living through Conquest: The Politics of Early English, 1020–1220* (Oxford: OUP, 2012)
Trotter, David, ed., *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain* (Cambridge, 2000)
Trotter, David, ‘Oceano Vox: You Never Know Where a Ship Comes From: On Multilingualism and Language-Mixing in Medieval Britain’, in *Aspects of*

Multilingualism in European Language History, ed. by Kurt Braunmüller and Gisella Ferraresi (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2003), pp. 15–33
——, 'Death, taxes and property: Some code-switching evidence from Dover, Southampton and York,' in *Code-switching in Early English*, ed. by Herbert Schendl and Laura Wright (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2003), 155–90
——, 'The Anglo-French lexis of *Ancrene Wisse*,' in *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse*, ed. by Yoko Wada (Cambridge: Brewer, 2003), pp. 83–102
——, 'Diastratische und Diaphasische Variation: Normierungstendenz und Unabhängigkeit in lothringischen Dokumenten des Mittelalters', in *Überlieferungs- und Aneignungsprozesse im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert auf dem Gebiet der westmitteldeutschen und ostfranzösischen Urkunden- und Literatursprachen. Beiträge zum Dritten internationalen Urkunden- sprachen-Kolloquium vom 20.–22 Juni 2001 in Trier*, ed. by Kurt Gärtner and Günter Holtus (Trier: Kliomedia, 2005), pp. 1–78
——, 'Language Contact, Multilingualism, and the Evidence Problem,' in *The Beginnings of Standardization: Language and Culture in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. by Ursula Schaeffer (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 73–90
——, 'Intra-textual Multilingualism and Social/Sociolinguistic Variation in Anglo-Norman,' in *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in England, c. 800 – 1250*, ed. by E.M. Tyler (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 357–68
——, 'Bytes, Words, Texts: The *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* and its Text-Base,' *Digital Medievalist* 7 (2011)
Turville-Petre, Thorlac, 'Politics and Poetry in the Early Fourteenth Century,' *Review of English Studies* n.s. 39 (1988), 1–29
——, '*Havelok* and the History of the Nation,' in *Readings in Medieval English Romance*, ed. by Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), pp. 121–34
——, *England the Nation: Language, Literature and National Identity, 1290–1340* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996)
Tyler, E.M., ed., *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in England, c. 800 – 1250* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011)
Upward, Christopher, and George Davidson, *The History of English Spelling* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011)
Wales, Katie, *A Dictionary of Stylistics*, 3rd edn (Harlow: Longman, 2011)
Warren, Michelle R., *History on the Edge: Excalibur and the Borders of Britain, 1100–1300* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2000)
Watson, Jonathan, 'Affective Poetics and Scribal Reperformance in Lawman's *Brut*: A Comparison of the Caligula and Otho Versions,' *Arthuriana* 8.3 (1998), 62-75
Watson, Nicholas, *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)
——, 'Theories of Translation,' in Ellis, ed., *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, pp. 73–91
Webber, Nick, *The Evolution of Norman Identity, 911–1154* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005)

Weever, Jacqueline de, 'Review of *Saracens and the Making of English Identity: The Auchinleck Manuscript*,' *Arthuriana* 22.3 (Fall 2012), 91–92
Weinberg, Carol, '"By a noble church on the bank of the Severn": a Regional View of Laȝamon's *Brut*,' *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 26 (1995), 49–62
——, 'Victor and Victim: A View of the Anglo-Saxon Past in Laȝamon's *Brut*,' in *Literary Appropriations of the Anglo-Saxons from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Donald Scragg and Carole Weinberg, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 29 (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), pp. 22–38
——, 'Recasting the role? Brutus in Laȝamon's *Brut*,' in *In Strange Countries: Middle English literature and its afterlife: essays in memory of J. J. Anderson*, ed. by David Matthews (Manchester & New York: Manchester UP, 2011), pp. 46–56
Weinreich, Peter, 'The operationalisation of identity theory in racial and ethnic relations,' in *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations*, ed. by John Rex and David Mason (Cambridge: CUP, 1986), pp. 299–320
Wheatley, Edward, 'The Developing Corpus of Literary Translation', in Ellis, ed., *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, pp. 173–89
Whitaker, Cord J., ed., Special issue: 'Making Race Matter in the Middle Ages,' *postmedieval* 6.1 (Spring 2015)
Wickham-Crowley, Kelley M., '"Going native": Anthropological Lawman,' *Arthuriana* 10.2 (Summer 2000), 5–26
——, *Writing the Future: Laȝamon's Prophetic History* (University of Wales Press, 2002)
Wilson, R. M., 'English and French in England 1100–1300,' *History* NS 28 (1943), 37–60
——, *The Lost Literature of Medieval England*, 2nd edn (London: Methuen & Co., 1970)
Wittig, Susan, *Stylistic and Narrative Structures in the Middle English Romances* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978)
Wogan-Browne, Jocelyn, and Nicholas Watson, 'The French of England: The *Compileison*, *Ancrene Wisse*, and the Idea of Anglo-Norman,' *Cultural Traffic in the Medieval Romance World*, ed. by Simon Gaunt and Julian Weiss, *Journal of Romance Studies* 4.3 (Winter 2004), 35–58
Wogan-Browne, Jocelyn, ed., *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England c.1100–c.1500* (York: York Medieval Press, 2009)
Wogan-Browne, Jocelyn, 'General introduction: What's in a name: the 'French' of 'England',' in Wogan-Browne, ed., *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*, pp. 1–13
——, 'What Voice is that Language / What Language is that Voice? Multilingualism and Identity in a Medieval Letter-Treatise,' in *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain (c. 1066–1520): Sources and Analysis*, ed. by Judith A. Jefferson and Ad Putter, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 171–94

Wright, Laura, *Sources of London English: Medieval Thames Vocabulary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996)
——, ‘On variation and change in London medieval mixed-language business documents,’ in *Language Contact and Development around the North Sea*, ed. by Merja Stenroos and others (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012), pp. 99–115
Wright, Neil, ‘Angles and Saxons in Laʒamon’s *Brut*: A Reassessment,’ in Le Saux, ed., *The Text and Tradition of Layamon’s ‘Brut’*, pp. 161–70
Wyld, Henry Cecil, ‘Studies in the Diction of Layamon’s *Brut*,’ *Language* 6.1 (March 1930), 1–24
——, ‘Studies in the Diction of Layamon’s *Brut*,’ *Language* 9.1 (March 1933), 47–71
——, ‘Studies in the Diction of Layamon’s *Brut*,’ *Language* 9.2 (June 1933), 171–91
——, ‘Studies in the Diction of Layamon’s *Brut*,’ *Language* 10.2 (June 1934), 149–201